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ABSTRACT

The development of literacy in selected bilingual societies was investigated. Historical and comparative studies were conducted of medieval Jewish communities, the Navajo community, a northern New Mexico village, and the countries of Paraguay and Tonga. The goal of the case studies was to develop a model for the development of literacy in the vernacular that can then be applied to the education of minority populations. Papers generated during the course of the studies are reprinted in nine chapters. The implications of the case studies for the choice of a language for initial literacy in bilingual education are discussed. It is concluded that a sociolinguistic model for vernacular literacy should include such factors as (1) the nature and language of literacy introduction, (2) the status of those accepting literacy, (3) the functions for which it is used, (4) the existence of political independence and control of the educational system, and (5) the continued use of the language. Necessary conditions for vernacular literacy include acceptance by traditionally influential members of the community, use for native functions, and maintenance by a locally controlled educational system. (RW)

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FINAL REPORT

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF LITERACY: AN HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FIVE CASES

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FOREWORD

For three years now, the principal investigators of this grant have been engaged in studying the development of literacy in selected bilingual settings in various parts of the world. The chapters in this report constitute the immediate results of such endeavor. However, as in any study of such proportions, these initial three years have opened up a multitude of new and additional lines of literacy-related inquiry that await further development and study.

The complexity of the process by which societies develop literacy in any language, whether standard or vernacular, whether the aim is mono-literacy or bi-literacy, has become more apparent to us. In the final chapter of this report we have identified a number of factors that help explain the growth and development of vernacular literacy in different societal and sociocultural settings. The identification of these factors is the initial step in the development of a sociolinguistic model that more fully accounts for the differential reception of vernacular literacy by various cultural groups and societies. The study of more cases and the careful comparison of these with the situations on which we already have data, should lead to further refinement and development of a model of vernacular literacy that will lead to improved educational practice.

Finally, a few preliminary comments are necessary to assist the reader in following the format and contents of this report. Chapter one is essentially a slightly modified version of the original proposal for the grant. It attempts to present the overall purpose and significance of the study as it was initially conceived. Chapters two through through ten consist largely of papers dealing with the individual case studies of societal literacy related to the particular sociocultural settings and populations which we identified in the original proposal. To some degree, these chapters attempt to compare and contrast findings between one case study and another. Chapter eleven is an effort to integrate the findings of the overall study by identifying some critical factors that help explain the conditions necessary for the development of vernacular literacy.

Lastly, the principal investigators of this study wish to extend our sincere appreciation to the individuals and organizations who made this study possible. We are grateful to the National Institute of Education and the University of New Mexico who sponsored the study. We are grateful to the people of Tonga, Israel, Paraguay, the Navajo nation, and northern New Mexico, who so generously allowed us to learn from them. And finally, a special thanks to Dr. Candace Miyamura, our project officer in the National Institute of Education, who offered continual support and assistance in our work.

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THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF LITERACY:

AN HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Since colonial times, literacy for all citizens has been a major goal of American education. With the recent strong concern about the decline in academic achievement throughout the nation, and with the subsequent "back to basics" movement, the achievement of literacy clearly remains one of America's unresolved educational problems. In America, as in many parts of the world, universal literacy remains an ideal rather than a reality.

While there is considerable evidence to suggest that the lack of literacy skills is not confined to any one segment of the American population, it is particularly acute among children and adults who are members of linguistic and other minority groups. There is a sizeable body of research which indicates that minority children, who are socially, culturally, and linguistically different from the general society, are failing to achieve standards of literacy that are presumed to lead to economic advancement and effective participation in civic responsibility. Major resources have been mobilized in many attempts to improve the level of literacy among these marginal groups. It is now starting to be realized, however, that solutions to the problem depend not just on enthusiasm and money, but on a clearer understanding of the complexity of literacy.

It is part of the conventional wisdom that literacy has intrinsic value for the individual as well as for society. For the individual, literacy skills have been claimed to result in a range of benefits, including the development of abstract reasoning abilities (Greenfield and Bruner, 1966; Greenfield, 1972; Olson, 1977). For society as a whole, a literate citizenry is assumed to be more enlightened and ready for rapid modernization. It is further argued that literacy is fundamental to economic development and that it can liberate the individual from the constraints of political oppression (Freire, 1970; for a review of related literature, see Arnove and Arboleda, 1973). These are but a few of the claims made for the way in which literacy serves as a panacea for a great number of social problems.

Before these claims can be evaluated, we need a clearer idea of the sociolinguistic dimensions of literacy. This is a surprisingly unexplored area: we know about orthography reform, but little about the sociolinguistic aspects (Fishman, 1977). We need a historical view of the effects of literacy (Goody and Watt, 1963) and to note how conditions and situations change (Resnick and Resnick, 1977). We need to know how to design literacy efforts to fit specific situations and populations (Harman, 1970). It is clear that literacy is much more than just a technical skill or a set of discrete behaviors that can be considered independently of the social context in which literacy occurs. In our view, it is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon. Scriber and Cole (1978) have made clear that literacy must be studied by finding out "what people in various communities and walks of life do with literacy - how they use their knowledge of reading and writing, to what tasks they apply it, how they accomplish these tasks." They call for research into this problem.

To meet their challenge, we propose to develop, on the basis of historical and comparative studies, a sociolinguistic model of the functions of literacy in various societies and to test the model in field observations in selected cases. Our model will be simpler than the full ethnographic picture of communication proposed by Dell Hymes (1962, 1972) following Roman Jakobson (1960). It will need to include at least the basic elements that Ervin-Tripp (1971) and Fishman (1971) find essential for a sociolinguistic domain (setting, topic, and interlocutors), and in addition, the choice of channel (written or spoken) and of variety and of the written channel by a specific society or individual. Our focus will be on the adoption or rejection of literacy by various groups. By looking at the particular sociolinguistic patterns involved in the adoption or rejection of literacy by a number of specific groups in various parts of the world at various times, we intend to identify the principal factors that need to be taken into account in planning for popular literacy. The general nature of our study can be illustrated by looking at some examples of differences in the reaction to literacy in some cases.

In the Nineteenth Century, two particularly striking cases of the acceptance of literacy in the vernacular were the Cherokee Indians and various Polynesian peoples including the Maori of New Zealand. In both the Cherokee and the Maori case, there was rapid acceptance of literacy in the vernacular so that within a comparatively short period of time, more Maoris and Cherokees were reported to be literate than was the case among English speaking settlers living among them. Contrasted with these two cases of rapid acceptance of literacy, one might look at the Navajo and the Pueblo peoples of the southwestern United States. While there has been an official orthography of Navajo since 1940 or so, fewer Navajos are literate in their own language than are literate in English. Among the Pueblos, there has been until quite recently strong opposition to literacy in the native language, but acceptance of literacy in English.

An early question for us to investigate will be the relative acceptability of literacy in a standard language and in a local vernacular. In looking at this question, we will be helping to explain some of the contradictory data analyzed by Patricia Engle in her 1975 summary of studies of the effectiveness of teaching initial literacy in the vernacular. While there are good arguments in favor of teaching children to read first in the language of the home, Engle shows how difficult it has proven to be to demonstrate this conclusively. There seem to be as many cases of failure of such an approach as cases of success, and it is clear that resolution of the contradictions involves a more complex sociolinguistic model than has so far been used. Our interest goes beyond this, for we are asking not just about initial literacy but dealing with the larger question, basic to so much language planning, of the values and cost of developing a full fledged vernacular literacy. To do this, our approach will be to seek the conditions that appear necessary to the development of popular literacy.

The need for work in the sociolinguistics of literacy was pointed out by Charles Ferguson in a major presentation to the 1978 Georgetown Roundtable. It was further clarified for the authors of this proposal by hearing a confrontation between a distinguished American linguist and a group of composition teachers. The linguist's argument for the greater power of vernacular narrative compared with college writing showed a remarkable lack of understanding of the implications of functional differentiation for language varieties and styles. Lacking a sociolinguistic model, one can easily make the false assumption that what is appropriate in one function is likely to be appropriate in another.

In analyzing the various cases that we will be looking at, we will start with a simple heuristic model based on Fishman's conception of sociolinguistic domains. Essentially, we will look at the existence of various domains (a composite of speaker, topic, and situation), look to see what language variety is considered suitable for that function,and ask the added question about the acceptability of writing in that domain. Our initial hypothesis has two parts to it: first, literacy in any language is most likely to be accepted when there already exists a domain or domains in which it adds to the efficiency of communication and second, that literacy in the vernacular is only accepted initially for domains and functions that are or become integrated into the traditional social and cultural patterns of a group. Literacy, then, is more likely to be accepted when there is a ready made place for it to be useful. Further, because the introduction of literacy is often associated with the introduction of new technological or modern functions and domains, and because a second language is often associated with these new domains as well as with literacy, it is often the case that literacy for these new functions is preferred in the second language.

An example might make this clearer. An important feature of traditional Maori life was the "schools of learning", which, as Elsdon Best describes them, were intensive training periods (six months or so) for selected pupils who worked to memorize traditional lore and genealogies. Literacy provided an efficient way to speed up and simplify this task: Best documents the results when, in the mid-Nineteenth Century, students started to write down rather than memorize the material. In this case, it was considered appropriate to use writing in the vernacular to carry on a traditional activity. Our impression of Navajo and Pueblo experience is that literacy has only been seen so far as useful in alien domains, such as school, government, or non-traditional religion, so that any literacy is felt more appropriate in the alien language, English.

In choosing a comparative and historical approach, we are influenced by the arguments presented by E. Glyn Lewis in his paper at the NIE Conference on the Dimensions of Bilingual Education in 1977. By comparing and contrasting selected cases, we will look for the most parsimonious explanation of the nature of the differences. For instance, one might if comparing simply the Cherokee and Navajo case suppose that the critical difference might have been that in the Cherokee case the orthography was established within while in the Navajo case, the orthography was imposed from without; this particular explanation would clearly be ruled out when you add the Maori case, where just as with Navajo, literacy and the orthography were introduced by outsiders. Similarly, arguments in favor of the greater effectiveness of initial literacy in the vernacular would need to deal with the very high standard of literacy in Hebrew, a language they did not speak, among Yiddish-speaking Jews in the early modern period.

We have chosen cases for study on the basis of two main criteria: our familiarity with and ease of access to the specific cases and the _a priori_ likelihood that they will include a number of the major factors that we believe likely to prove relevant in our model. We have chosen to start with the following six cases for historical/comparative data as they are particularly intriguing to us at this point. We will add additional cases as the research continues, and they will be included in the historical/comparative part of the study.

1. _Medieval Jewish communities._ Here, we will look at the reasons for high valuing of literacy and look at its relations with multilingualism. In addition, we have selected the following four cases for detailed observations as well as historical study.

2. _Navajo._ While an official orthography was developed for Navajo by 1940, the various attempts at developing literacy in Navajo have not so far been particularly successful. There is however increasing literacy in English among bilingual Navajos.

3. _Northern New Mexico_. By looking at a northern New Mexico village, we will aim to trace the original Spanish literacy and the effect of it on the addition of English literacy.

4. _Spanish-Guarani Literacy in Paraguay_. Although Paraguay is a widely known case of societal bilingualism, there is little known about the present status of Guarani literacy. We do know that Spanish is the official language of education but we would like to assess the degree to which Guarani literacy is being promoted as a written language. _As explained in an early quarterly report_, we are substituting the Guarani

case for the Aymara case in the Bolivian Altiplano.

5. Tonga. As in other Polynesian islands, literacy in Tongan was rapidly accepted at the time of missionary contact in the early Nineteenth Century. Literacy in Tongan remains, and English literacy has been added.

The conclusions drawn from the contrast and comparison of findings in each study will serve as a guide for planners of literacy programs and teachers in the development of such programs at international, national, and local levels. A sociolinguistic model of literacy drawn from observations in various settings will serve as a theoretical framework for the creation of opportunities for functional usage of literacy.

The findings of this study will be of special value to those involved in bilingual programs in the United States and elsewhere, particularly in cases when these programs attempt to promote literacy in the vernacular before literacy in the standard language.

The fundamental importance of our study for the education of poor and minority populations lies, we believe, in the fact that the teaching of reading and the development of literacy will be most successful when it recognizes the sociolinguistic issues involved. If literacy is seen as an alien device, it will be accepted only when it is suitable for established functions or when it is seen as necessary for functions that are no longer alien. For example, the development of vernacular literacy in Navajo might be aided not so much by showing its usefulness in a completely alien environment, the school, but rather by showing its value in maintaining contacts between separated members of a family. Our work then should provide some way of relating a literacy program to the needs perceived by the community.

Our starting point for the historical studies is described in the following sections:

1. Medieval Jewish communities. Especially in western Europe medieval Jewish communities were very small: the travel account by Benjamin of Tudela is suggestive of the great value of literacy in these scattered conditions. Baron's Social and Religious History gives some good evidence of the state of these communities: Goitein's recent publications based on the material in the Cairo Geniza permits access to primary material that will give a clearer picture of actual communication networks.

2. Navajo. During the graduate seminar last year which included two of the principal investigators, we pulled together material on the history of Navajo literacy. The major studies in this area include a doctoral dissertation by Wayne Holm (1972) and a master's thesis by Sally Kruis (1975), both written under the direction of Spolsky, and a history of written Navajo by Robert Young (1977). A bibliography of Navajo written material, aimed to include everything of note in or about the Navajo language was prepared by James Kari under the direction of Spolsky and published by the University of New Mexico General Library in 1974. The general picture that emerges is of three main attempts at developing Navajo literacy: one associated with Protestant missionaries, one as part of Bureau of Indian Affairs policies, and the third related to current efforts in bilingual education and particularly associated with Navajo-controlled schools. (A draft

resolution has just been prepared and will be submitted to the Navajo Tribal Council calling for the acceptance of written Navajo in educational and legal areas.) Generally none of these has so far had any marked effect; such literacy as exists is much more likely to be in English. Our historical study will put this picture together, tracing in particular the goals and methods of the first two attempts in order to provide a basis for our field study.

3. Northern New Mexico. In a study written for the graduate seminar referred to above, one student traced the general situation of Spanish literacy in New Mexico. There are no full studies, so that a good deal of primary historical work is still needed to establish the exact picture. The impression that emerges from work to date is of a slow growth of literacy from early settlement until the mid-Nineteenth Century, with a burst of growth from annexation until the mid-1930's. In the 1930's however, English influence finally started to push written Spanish into the background. One critical question we want to look at is the actual language practice in northern New Mexico schools in the period before the second world war. Various studies suggest that many teachers spoke Spanish, even though official policy was to use English; we would like to find out what role written Spanish played in community life. We will focus our study on the village of Arroyo Seco, which we chose because Leroy Ortiz conducted a sociolinguistic study of the village in 1975 as part of his doctoral work.

4. Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay. Paraguay has long been known as a country having a well-established stable

bilingualism involving Spanish and Guarani. The work of Joan Rubin has been particularly helpful in giving us a picture of the roles played by Spanish and Guarani at a societal level. Since Paraguay has recently instituted bilingual education at the national level, we are interested in seeing to what extent Guarani is presently being promoted as a vehicle for literacy. We have a number of contacts in Paraguay in connection with AID sponsored projects conducted there by the UNM College of Education that will be helpful to us in proceeding with this part of the study.

5. Polynesian Peoples. Basically, the various Polynesian peoples provide examples of rapid adoption of vernacular literacy after contact. In New Zealand, literacy in Maori started in the 1820's with missionary contact. By 1870, most Maoris were reported to be literate in their own language, and a book was written to teach them literacy in English through Maori. In our historical studies, we will look at various Polynesian cases, but for the field study we will choose Tonga, where literacy has continued until the present. A number of accounts have been written of the development of Maori literacy, but our studies in this area are still at a preliminary stage.

Some of the initial questions which will guide our studies and observations of all of the groups include the following:

(1) Under what circumstances do certain groups of people accept literacy in the vernacular? What conditions prompt groups to move towards literacy in the standard language? What are the tensions that arise in each of the decisions?

(2) Was literacy in either the vernacular or the standard generated from within the group or was it introduced from the outside? With what consequences?

(3) What are the functions of language in the community? Who writes, who reads, about what topics, in what settings? Which language is used? If more than one, is there a diglossic or functional differentiation of language?

(4) To what extent are the functions associated with literacy indigenous to the culture and to what extent do they derive from technological and social change associated with contact? To what extent has change occurred over time?

(5) What evidence is there of school-based literacy? of non-school based literacy?

(6) To what extent are school-related literacy programs, including teaching practices, curriculum and materials developed or planned on the basis of knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation in the community? What functions of language to the schools appear to value? Are they the ones that the community also value?

(7) What evidence is there to indicate that literacy, either in the vernacular or the standard, has a payoff in terms of socioeconomic advancement?

The field observation studies will be conducted in two stages. In the first stage, we plan to develop a general picture, in terms of a sociolinguistic domains model, of the non-school related functions of literacy within the selected community. In the second stage, we plan to observe schools in order to see if there is congruence between their view of literacy and that which emerged from the community.

In our field observation, we will be looking for use of written material in a number of settings. In each, we will ask or observe whether writing is used and if so, how much and in which language. In each setting we will look for 1) the topics handled by writing and 2) the participants in each written communicative act - writer and reader. We will also look for existence of common functions where writing is not used but could usefully be added. These are the settings and the kinds of items we expect to look at:

Settings	Examples
Home	Newspapers Books Writing Materials Letters Notes to each other Distribution of printed material Decoration - samplers
Church	Bibles Hymnals Bulletins Notice Board
Neighborhood	Notice boards in stores community halls laundromats Announcement of deaths/births Library
Community Government	Meetings - Navajo Chapter meetings (minutes, announcements)
Government	Any government agency, the headquarters of which is one level above the local one: Employment office Social services offices (forms) Political campaigns (material) Voting - ballots
Work	Memos Reports Signs

Sociolinguistic domain theory (Fishman, Cooper, and Ma, 1971) suggests that domains are a function of the interaction between topic, participants, and setting. We might ask then whether writing is used to communicate in the home between members of the family about daily life or whether writing is used in a public office to communicate with a government official about legal matters, or whether writing is used to communicate to an absent family member about home events. We would also look for cases where writing would be useful but is not used, i.e., where messages are sent orally by messenger to distant family members because nobody can write or read letters. For example, radio programs in Aymara fill the functions that in a literate community are taken care of by the newspapers.

In the observational study of school-related literacy, we will observe all uses of writing and reading in the school system looking particularly at any distinction between what we might call real communication and the various kinds of more atypical communication contrived by the teachers as part of the curriculum in order to give the students opportunity to practice written communication. Among the functions we will observe are:

School 1) real
- a notice carried to the principal with instructions for punishment
- request for notes of permission with parents
- posters, calendars, bulletin boards, labels on doors
- texts, workbooks, reference materials
- homework assignments written on the board

2) practice - exercises, drills on grammar and spelling
- writing stories, poems, essays
- making up sentences

Again, these functions will be analyzed in light of sociolinguistic domain theory in order to see the degree of congruence between the sociolinguistic model of literacy which emerges from the school study as compared to the description of literacy functions which emerged from the community observations.

The product of our studies will be a number of papers describing the cases we have looked at, comparing and contrasting the nature of literacy in each, and showing the strengths and weaknesses of the model of the sociolinguistics of literacy that develops. An extremely important by-product will result, we believe, from our interactions with educators and others in the communities we will be studying. Wherever we work, we will accept responsibility to provide information not just about our own study and its findings and relevance to the local situation, but also to provide any other assistance asked that is within our areas of competence.

We do not believe that this or any other basic study will lead to a single formula for implementation. Our findings about the sociolinguistics of literacy will not be directly translatable into policy decisions or classroom practice. But the knowledge we discover promises to be significant to both. A deeper understanding of the sociolinguistics of literacy will help educators make better decisions about language education policy. It will help to understand whether a community is likely to be better served, other things being equal, by an approach of complete bi-literate education, or of initial literacy in the vernacular, or of teaching of literacy along with the teaching of the standard language. Similarly, the model of literacy in a community need not be translated directly into classroom practice, but our fuller picture of community literacy should help teachers understand better what will seem like meaningful uses for reading and writing to their students and so make its contributions to dealing with an unresolved problem facing American education.

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LITERACY IN THE VERNACULAR:
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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One of the most hotly debated issues in the development of language education policy for minorities is the choice of language for initial literacy teaching. The case for teaching children to read first in their native language and later in the standard language has been well-stated by, among others, MacNamara (1966) and Modiano (1968). The assumption underlying this position, based in large measure on linguistic arguments, is that it is easier to learn to decode language patterns that are already known to the child aurally and orally. Although many reading programs have used this approach with success, the evidence that children learn to read more easily in their native language than in another is still inconclusive (Engle 1975).

This paper, while it will not focus specifically on the question of initial literacy, assumes that there are other factors besides linguistic ones which help account for the success or failure of a literacy program; we plan to deal in particular with the sociolinguistic factors which are involved. Does it make sense, for example, to introduce initial literacy in the native language to children when that language has a limited literary tradition? We have come to believe that literacy is in fact more than just a technical skill that can be considered independently of a social context. It is rather a complex of functional abilities among which the ability to decode is a first but minimal step.

Before we can understand why literacy in the vernacular language sometimes seems inappropriate, we need a more precise understanding of the functions of literacy and the individual settings in which it occurs. Such a description might usefully include various dimensions including domain (as Fishman describes) it), choice of language, choice of variety (including style and register), and choice of oral or written channel. Thus, we would describe the uses and functions of language as they occur in a number of domains, such as home, church, community, and place of work. In each domain, we would note whether writing has a place and if so, how much and in what language; further, we would note what topics are handled by writing and who are the participants in each written communicative act. After describing in this way the sociolinguistics of literacy in a specific community, we hope to be able to compare several communities to establish the sociolinguistic factors most relevant to adoption or rejection of literacy in the standard or vernacular language. These are some of the questions we expect to help us do this:

1. Under what circumstances do certain groups of people accept literacy in the vernacular? What conditions prompt groups to prefer literacy in the standard language? What tensions underlie each of these decisions?
2. Was literacy in the vernacular generated from within the group or was it introduced from outside? If from outside, who within the group first accepted it? For what purposes was it introduced and accepted? What were the consequences of acceptance?
3. What now are the functions of literacy in the community? Who writes, who reads, about what topics, in what settings? Which language is used? If more than one language is used, is there a diglossic or functional differentiation between them?
4. To what extent are the functions now associated with literacy indigenous to the culture and to what extent

do they derive from technological and social change associated with contact?

5. What congruence is there between school-related literacy programs and the sociolinguistics situation of the community? What functions of language and literacy do the schools value? Does the community share these values?

Answering questions such as these will, we believe, help us understand not just historical cases of literacy development but also contemporary issues facing language educators. Let us first look at some historical examples of the introduction of vernacular literacy which are relevant to the development of a sociolinguistic model of literacy.

Two cases of the acceptance of literacy in the vernacular during the 19th century are particularly striking. In New Zealand, literacy among the Maori people started after the arrival of missionaries around 1820. Within fifty years, most Maoris were reported to be able to read and write their own language, and a book was written to teach them English literacy through Maori. By 1900, there were more items published in New Zealand in Maori than in English. A similar case of rapid acceptance of vernacular literacy is provided by the Cherokee, a special case among American Indians. In 1821, Sequoyah, a Cherokee, developed a syllabary for writing the language that was immediately accepted and widely used. Within a decade, most Cherokees could read and write their own language using the syllabary (White 1962; Walker 1969).

There have been many other cases where there has been minimal acceptance of literacy in the vernacular. In the case of the Pueblo communities of the Southwest, active opposition to literacy in the vernacular has continued until quite recently but there is acceptance of literacy in English as one of the normal concomitants of progress. A similar case is that of the Navajo. Although literacy in the Navajo language was introduced in the early part of this century and although a standard orthography was accepted in the early days of the second World War, the Navajos have shown no "rush to literacy" (Young 1977). At the moment, literacy in Navajo is limited to those who have learned it from missionaries and to a group of teachers and students in the half-dozen schools with active bilingual programs. We do not point this out to denigrate the success of these programs but rather to show the contrasting lack of acceptance of literacy in Navajo by the people as a whole.

Why is it then, we ask, that some people enthusiastically accept and adopt literacy in their own language, while others seem to be indifferent or even opposed to it? This opposition, it turns out, does not necessarily extend to literacy in the standard language; in fact, in many of these cases literacy in the standard language is considered appropriate and desirable.

Returning to the Navajo case, we note that the Navajo language is spoken not just in the homes and in community life but is considered appropriate for oral contact with the bureaucracy, for legal proceedings, for governmental activities at chapter and tribal level, and for radio and television. On the other hand, English is used for reading and writing in almost all similar situations; it is used for official letters, for keeping minutes of meetings, for keeping court records, and in the Tribal newspaper (Spolsky and Holm 1971). Essentially, the situation can be characterized as a special kind of diglossia:

Navajo is the preferred and appropriate language for oral use, while English is the almost exclusive language for written use.

To try to understand this phenomenon, it is useful to consider what happens when literacy in the vernacular is added to the sociolinguistic repertoire of a community. Using the concept of domain (Fishman 1971), which is defined as the intersection of setting, topic, and participants, we offer two related observations that seem to suggest that at least one aspect of nonacceptance of vernacular literacy may well function to maintain the integrity of a traditional culture.

First, it seems to us that literacy in the native language is most likely to be accepted when there already exist domains in which it can be used or where it adds to efficiency. Thus, among the Maori and the Cherokee, our most striking cases of acceptance, literacy was used in domains that predate its introduction: the Maori used it to record traditional lore that previously had to be memorized (Best 1923), and the Cherokee shamans wrote down traditional formulas for performing sacred rituals. Second, and this is related to the first, it seems to us that literacy in the native language is most likely to be accepted for domains that are congruent with or become integrated with the traditional social and cultural values and norms of a group. Conversely, when literacy continues to be associated with modern technological domains or with values alien to the native culture, literacy in these domains may well be preferred in the alien language. Among the Navajo, for example, the teaching of vernacular literacy has been associated with missionaries, anthropologists, and the dissemination of such unpopular BIA policies as livestock reduction and relocation, all of which are clearly not congruent with traditional Navajo values; the use of written Navajo has been associated with such alien domains as school, church, and government.

In recent history, literacy has most often been introduced to non-literate societies through religious missionaries, the activities of a colonizing government, or the technological changes that produce contact with a literate group. One common result is pressure towards literacy in the introduced standard language for the modern purposes of colonizing or alien group. Thus, the question of which language to use for literacy becomes a part of the basic tensions facing any traditional society when it comes into contact with the challenge of modernization. There appear to be two equally difficult courses to follow. One path is to adopt literacy in the standard language for use in the domains associated with modernization, as the Navajo seem to have done. One effect of not adopting vernacular literacy in the alien domains may well be that in keeping domains and languages separate, it is possible to resist the next stage of assimilation more easily. A second approach is to integrate the alien values and functions into the traditional culture, as the Maori did. Their conversion to Christianity was rapid, and they quickly adopted many cultural and economic notions from the Victorian missionaries, although they modified these notions to fit their own models. With the rapid and wholesale acceptance of the new ideas, it was reasonable to continue to express it in the old language, and thus to develop an extensive literacy in the vernacular. One clear result of this speedy assimilation, however, was to lessen the ability of the Maori people to resist more complete destruction of their traditional life, when, for instance, in 1870 all schools started to insist on English rather than Maori. As a result, very few children are left today who grow up speaking Maori. Thus, acceptance of literacy in the vernacular may very well be evidence of greater readiness to accept assimilation to the new majority or dominant culture and may be a first step towards submersion within it.

In all the cases we have examined so far, a significant factor in determining which language is chosen for literacy seems to be who introduces literacy and for what purpose. When literacy is introduced as associated with a religion or with some other well-developed ideology (the Soviet examples described by Lewis 1972), the intention of the missionizing group must be taken into account. For example, Protestant missionaries among the Navajo clearly intended that the religion they were teaching should replace Navajo traditions. Thus, they first set out to translate the Bible into Navajo and then to teach the Navajos to read. Navajo literacy has since become associated with this group who openly worked to assimilate the Navajos; it is not surprising then that other Navajos should be ambivalent towards literacy in Navajo. On the other hand, the Catholic missionaries who converted the Pueblo Indians seem to have been satisfied that their religion could be added to the native culture without necessarily replacing native traditions. Developing literacy in the vernacular, therefore, was of little importance to the Catholic missionaries.

In this paper, we have tried to show some of the value of a sociolinguistic approach to a study of the complex functions of literacy in any society, and have suggested some of the issues that might guide research and model-making in this area. It now seems that questions such as whether to teach initial literacy in the vernacular cannot be answered without considering how literacy functions in the community concerned. We look forward to developing a model which will allow us to make better informed decisions about language education policy.

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MODELS FOR THE EXPLANATION OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

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While Breitborde perhaps exaggerates when he says that code-switching[2] is "the principal behavior through which bilingualism is expressed," it clearly has become a topic of major importance. For our understanding of bilingualism, we continue to owe a great deal to the work of Uriel Weinreich, who defined it in the broadest sense as

> the practice of alternately using two languages... without qualification as to the degree of difference between the two languages....
>
> (Weinreich 1953:1)

This broad definition, according to which it makes no difference whether one is dealing with two languages, two dialects, or even two "dialects of the same language," increases the relevance of the topic enormously. Weinreich made clear that the study of bilingualism can be equally profitable when it is viewed as an individual phenomenon (the psychology of bilingualism) or as a social one (the sociology of bilingualism). But, with all his recognition of the social and cultural contexts in which bilingualism exists, his own first major concern was with the language systems involved: how did the contact between two languages known and used by a bilingual affect the structure of each.

Because of his point of view, code-switching for Weinreich was essentially a characteristic of the individual:

> The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single situation....There is reason to suspect that

> considerable individual differences exist between those who have control of their switching, holding it close to this ideal pattern, and those who have difficulty in maintaining or switching codes as required. (1953:73).

Weinreich goes on to consider how such individual differences arise, and calls for further exploration of these "deviant behavior patterns."

Talking about deviance presupposes that there is a system to deviate from, and most current concern with code choice switching, and mixing has been to establish the rules of the system and to determine what are "the appropriate changes in the speech situation" that govern changes in language choice. It is nonetheless very important to emphasize the individual factor: to recall that many code choices of a bilingual are triggered by the fact that the bilingual is, permanently or temporarily, able to express something in only one of the varieties he or she uses, either because of a limitation of understanding on the part of the listener or because the speaker does not know or has forgotten how to say it in any other variety. This phenomenon, too, can have its social dimension, so that we might choose to study which topics are generally discussed in which variety, or which members of the speech community are likely to be competent to discuss which variety, but this is a different issue from the one that Breitborde is addressing in his paper.

Breitborde is in essence seeking a model powerful enough to explain the social (but not individual) forces that account for the choice of a variety in a specific situation. If we accept Weinreich's broad definition, we are dealing with something of the widest significance, not just with bilinguals but with the ability of all speakers to choose varieties of speech appropriate to the situation. As Martinet puts it,

> We all, more or less, adapt our speech to circumstances and differentiate it from one interlocutor to another. (Weinreich, 1953, p. viii)

The importance of this underlying adaptative ability, in its own way as central a component of human language ability as is linguistic competence, surely justifies the attention that has been paid to it during the last two decades. Breitborde need therefore have no apology for returning to the issue, nor for his attempt to understand and reconcile the work of two scholars who have taught us so much about the relation between linguistic and social structures. His goal of reconciliation is, as Steinhalz (1976:232-3) points out, as appropriate in modern science as it was in Talmudic scholarship. Breitborde does not try to contradict either Gumperz or Fishman, or prove either right at the expense of the other, but to show how each from his point of view increased our understanding of code choice and switching.

In Breitborde's opinion, Gumperz was on the right track in drawing attention to the social features that control the behavior of bilinguals in speech situations, but, according to Breitborde (and to Fishman), these features need to be related to their fullest context (Fishman's macrolevel). Again, according to Breitborde, Fishman does a good job of setting up the macrolevel context against which to measure the individual microlevel event, but because his model is too inclusive, it blurs some of the details that are worth keeping. Breitborde would like to be able to account for code switching with a simpler construct than Fishman's domain, which includes in it not just social relationships[3] but also setting and topic. If social relationships can be more adequately characterized, he believes the model will be improved. For this characterization, and for a source that will reconcile Gumperz and Fishman, he appeals to the model of social organization sketched by the social anthropologist, Meyer Fortes. Breitborde is fully cognizant of the contribution that Gumperz has made, with his stress on linguistic repertoire and speech community, his observations of the different social roles associated with the two varieties in a bilingual community, and his recognition of the social meaning of code choice and switching. But he draws attention to the flaws in Gumperz' analysis: the false dichotomy between personal and transactional situations, the unmotivated power of the notion of metaphorical switching, and the crucial reluctance to look outside the speech situation. This last narrowness of view, whether in Gumperz or in the recent attempts to analyze code switching as a bilingual's attempt to control a speech situation, does not make sense, for the success of individual strategies requires us to postulate a wider set of norms. The case for appeal to the macrolevel seems unanswerable. The question then remains whether one can do this without using as explanatory force a construct like Fishman's domain that includes topic and setting as well as status. A less powerful instrument might allow more refined measurement. Breitborde suggests that we try to replace the domain by one of its components.

The notion of domain was taken by Weinreich from Schmidt-Rohr, who, he says, distinguished nine "domains of language use":

family, playground, school, church, literature, press, army, courts, and administration. Weinreich pointed out that this division might work in some situations, but might not be finely enough graded for others (one thinks for instance of the many Israeli bilinguals who read a non-Hebrew language newspaper in the morning and a Hebrew one in the afternoon). Fishman in his turn goes back to Schmidt-Rohr and his colleagues for the notion, but develops it into a measurable construct. For Fishman, domains are to be defined

> in terms of institutional contexts and their congruent behavioral co-occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interactions that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors. Domains enable us to understand that language choice and topic, appropriate though they may be for individual behavior at the level of face-to-face encounters are, as I suggested, related to widespread sociocultural norms and expectations. (Fishman, 1972:441)

Note that Fishman acknowledges the independence of the components: he points out here that both language choice and conversational topic are selected according to wider rules; but he insists that all three components must be included:

> domain is a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication. (1972:442).

For each speech community, domains are to be established empirically by finding evidence of congruence between persons, places and topics. In a bilingual community, domains will be found to interact significantly with language choice, and, in the case of ongoing language shift, with demographic variables such as age.

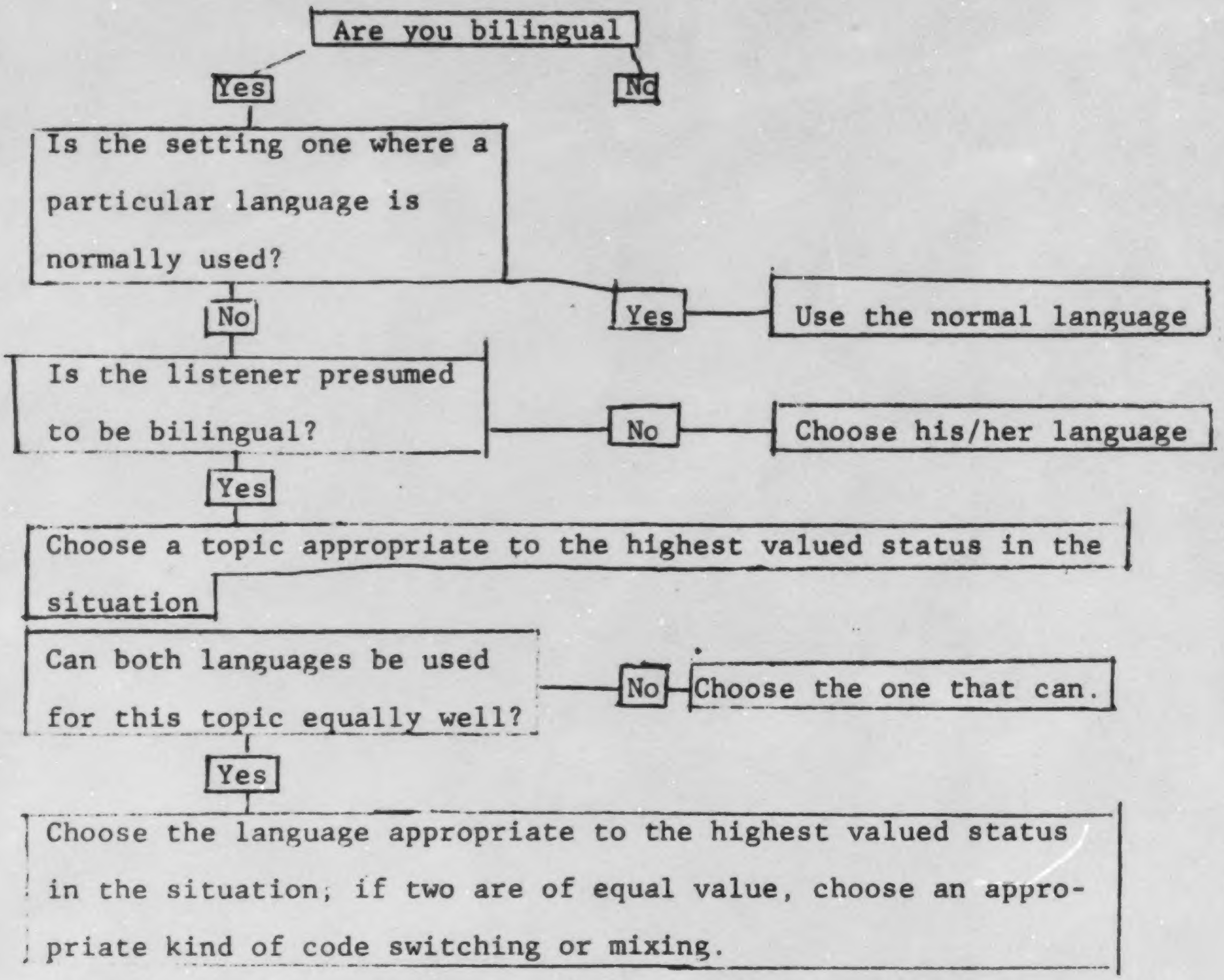
Breitborde's arguments with Fishman are somewhat modestly put: he does not want to dispense with topic or setting, but asks for a more central place for status. As he points out, status has just as much effect on choice of topic as it does on choice of variety, and status can be expressed clearly even in an incongruent setting.

Breitborde's proposal to break Fishman's domain back down into its three original constituents, useful and real as the unified construct may be, seems to be constructive, for it enables us to see not just the specific contribution of each part but also the complex way in which the three interact with and influence each other. A number of arguments support the more complex model that Breitborde proposes: there are cases in which language choice is determined independently by status and topic, however closely the two interact in other cases; it is sometimes the case that topic is itself determined by status; and there are locales that are unmarked for certain statuses and so are preferred for certain topics. Fishman's construct of domain potentially blurs these distinctions, for it gives us only the summative effect of the three parts in combination. Breitborde therefore has a good argument when he calls for further exploration of the contribution of status, using a more powerful theoretical model such as the one he outlines from Fortes; it does not deny the truth of the construct of domain as Fishman proposes it, but reopens a line of study that might otherwise be blocked.

The critical gain that Breitborde makes is to have some better way of accounting for switches within an otherwise seemingingly unified situation such as the Kru church service that he describes. By taking from Fortes the notion that several statuses, each from its own domain (in Fortes' use of the term), are potentially or actually present in a single situation, he provides a dynamism that helps explain switching and even perhaps mixing. Each of the statuses has its own value to the interlocutors, whether individually or collectively; more than one status might have the same value, so that speakers find it necessary to refer to more than one in a single situation. How this works in practice Breitborde illustrates with his interesting description of the service, where E's greater use of English is a socially expected and accepted sign that he is making clear in the religious domain (Fortes) the high value he attaches to his politico-jural status as civilized. Thus, the Kru church service is a situation where two domains (Fortes) are present: E's language switch is not a new situation (as Weinreich would put it) or metaphorical (as perhaps Gumperz would call it) or a case making a Fishman domain less pure, but an expression of the relative values socially assigned to the two Fortes domains and their respective statuses by the group for this individual.

It remains to be seen empirically how useful the model can be. In a recent paper, Parasher (1980) makes a good case for the existence of a developing English-Mother Tongue diglossia among educated Indians. Parasher takes the concept of domain as well as his definition of diglossia from Fishman, but ignores his suggestion that domains must be established empirically for each speech community. Instead, he sets up his own set: family, neighborhood, transactions, friendship, education, government, and employment. In the paper, Parasher records his subjects' reported language choice in each of these domains; some of the domains he breaks down into various typical situations, such as conversing with mother, with father, with children. The resulting picture is interesting and supports his case for diglossia. If, however, we ignore his domains as primes, and arrange all the situations in order by the percentage of English used in them, we find an even clearer ordering by status (e.g., child to mother, client to waiter, patient to doctor, employer to employee), cutting across the domains as Parasher organizes them. Thus, status rather than domain emerges as the first organizing factor. In some of the situations, it is clear that topic also emerges as an independent factor. Breitborde's analysis in this case too would seem to give a fuller picture.

The choice of language to start a conversation can perhaps be represented by a decision tree like the following:


Are you bilingual
Yes
No
Is the setting one where a particular language is normally used?
No
Yes
Use the normal language
Is the listener presumed to be bilingual?
No
Choose his/her language
Yes
Choose a topic appropriate to the highest valued status in the situation
Can both languages be used for this topic equally well?
No
Choose the one that can.
Yes
Choose the language appropriate to the highest valued status in the situation; if two are of equal value, choose an appropriate kind of code switching or mixing.

The decision tree shows how previous experience with a place or an interlocutor can govern code choice; there are certain people with whom a bilingual regularly chooses one language. This is a case where status can outweigh other factors. It accounts also for the selection first of the language of the setting, itself resulting from the presumed language of the interlocutors; it accounts also for choice by presumed listener language in neutral settings; it allows for topic choice also to be governed by status; it includes the possibility of code switching by topic (e.g., as a speaker goes from greeting to business, and from business to leave taking, a switch is often appropriate; it gives the final say to status; and it includes a dynamic element of equal values that accounts for switches within a situation in order to refer to more than one status.[5] This decision tree, built essentially on Breitborde's proposal, accounts not just for initial code choice, permitting us to investigate the contribution of setting, topic, and status, but also, by its assumption of multi-valued presence of several statuses in a single situation, it builds in the potential meaning of code switches and mixing not explainable by topic change. It provides thus more adequate motivation for metaphorical switches.

There is clearly then enough evidence to suggest that the model is worth exploring and applying to other situations. As part of a wider study of the sociolinguistics of literacy,[6] I have been looking at the choice of language for public signs in the Old City of Jerusalem. The area is multilingual: its inhabitants speak Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian, English, and a number of other languages. In spite of the full multilingual complexity, public signs are predominantly in one or more of four dominant languages: Hebrew, Arabic, English, and Loazit.[7] How well, it is interesting to ask, does the decision tree account for actual use? Surprisingly well, and it further shows that the signs are about equally divided between those that select language on account of the presumed language of the potential reader and those that choose a language to express the status of writer and reader.

Signs that fit into the first category, where the language chosen is that of the presumed reader, include signs for policemen and drivers in Hebrew only; signs for tourists are in English (including one advertising that "Names are made in Hebrew, Arabic, or English"); a private parking sign in the Christian quarter is in Arabic and Hebrew; a "Merry Christmas" sign on a book store is in a dozen languages but not Hebrew; a sign calling for modest dress at the Western Wall is in Hebrew, English, and French but not Arabic; a block notice in the Jewish Quarter is in Hebrew only. Status-related signs generally are those that proclaim the language of the owner of the building: Greek outside a convent (but a sign just inside in English) proclaiming it a "holy place"; Latin on a convent and a Monastery; Armenian on a Cathedral (but English and Hebrew on a sign announcing the Armenian museum alongside); Hebrew and French on a Post Office (but the door has a more useful combination of Hebrew, Arabic, and English with times open); German on a Hospice. Also status-related are the monolingual signs on the gates of the city: the decorative (and thus hardly legible) Turkish and Arabic signs of the builders, and the Hebrew plaques commemorating 1948 and 1967. The street signs are interesting for their combination: the pre-1948 signs were in English, Hebrew, and Arabic, in that order, with the Arabic decorative rather than legible; the 1948-67 signs were in legible Arabic with English transliteration above which a Hebrew name was added after 1967; and the post-1967 signs are in Hebrew, legible rather than decorative Arabic, and Loazit (usually a transliteration of the Hebrew). So far, I have found only one sign with a clear topical language switch: a notice outside the Armenian Quarter announcing a film, where the sign was in Armenian but the name of the film was in English.

The model suggested by Breitborde has other relevance for our study of the sociolinguistics of literacy, for the Fortes domains seem particularly useful for looking at statuses associated with the written language in various societies. It helps for instance to understand the special kind of diglossia that occurs in a society monolingual in one language but monoliterate in another, where the written language is used in restricted ways and by restricted statuses. Such a situation occurs with limited scribal literacy; the medieval or ancient king who dictated to his clerks did not worry what language the clerk used for writing. In the same way, the Navajo Tribal Council is not concerned that the proceedings of the meetings it conducts in Navajo are recorded in English, for the secretary-interpreter always reads them back in Navajo. Thus, literacy restricted to jural or religious or political domains (in the Fortes sense) can easily remain in a language not spoken by the community at large, for an elite can easily be trained to write, read, and translate. In a similar way, sacred text literacy and politico-jural literacy easily continue in a classical or alien language. Private letter literacy, however, calls for writing in the language used in the familial domains. Vernacular literacy probably develops most quickly in a society ready to use it in this domain. This analysis casts interesting light on the switch from classical and alien language literacy (in Latin and French) in England under Henry V to vernacular literacy in English: the accounts suggest that Henry himself started using English for writing as well as dictating letters, which though private in one sense, were because of his personal status, at the same time political and jural.[7]

These examples suggest some of the values to be gained by following Breitborde's suggestion. While we need not give up the usefulness of Fishman's domain as a construct for analysis, further exploration of the relevance of social structure using the Fortes domain seems to be worthwhile, not just to understand code-switching, but also for the study of other aspects of the choice of languages and varieties.

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NOTES

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2. It would be desirable to maintain a distinction among code choice (a bilingual's choice of language to open a conversation), code switching (a change within a conversation from one language to another), and code mixing (switching from one language to another and back again within a conversation).

3. Another terminological problem here. Working at the intersection of disciplines, we need to beware of cases where there is virtual or full synonomy of terms like "status" and "role relationship" or like "locale" and "setting" on the one hand, and the polysemy of a term like "domain" as Fishman and Fortes use it.

4. There is no claim made that this decision tree can be interpreted as a Markov model; the complex interactions between the elements calls for different treatment.

5. See Spolsky and Irvine, 1980; Spolsky, 1981.

6. Loazit is a transliteration of Hebrew into Latin letters that sometimes coincides with English.

7. See for instance Richardson (1980).

BILINGUALISM AND BILITERACY*

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(The Canadian Modern Language Review, 1981, 37 (3) 475-85).

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In the survey which he opened the review of the 1966 Hamburg meeting on teaching foreign languages to young children, H. H. Stern drew attention to the complex array of factors that influence decisions about language education policy.[1] He suggested that discussion of the issue was starting to be dominated by two opposed points of view: there are some people who hold that primary education should be conducted only in the vernacular language, while others argue for bilingual education from the very beginning. In his recognition of the validity of this second option, Stern was ahead of most others, for at that time most educators were still convinced that the only good way to learn to read is in one's first language and that only through this approach could the problem of illiteracy be solved. A decade or so later, there are more scholars who would agree with Stern that an option exists; linguists are much more cautious in their claims, and educators less insistent that reading must be taught in the child's home language even if it has been unwritten until now. What, we might well ask, has been learned in the meantime? How was the assumption that literacy must be in the first language shaken?

There are five factors that each have contributed to this change. First, it must be recalled that the scholars and educators arguing for literacy in the vernacular were going against a popular assumption that schooling and learning to read the standard language are one and the same thing. The burden of proof was on the supporters of innovation. Second, the various experimental attempts to demonstrate that teaching initial literacy in the vernacular was more effective than teaching in the standard language failed to be conclusive. As Engle points out, published studies show that each approach has had its success and failures.[2] The absolute condemnation of teaching in the standard language has thus turned out to have no more empirical basis than the absolute condemnation of teaching in the vernacular. Third, the failure of attempts in the USA to gain community acceptance of material written in Black English and similar community reactions of material written in non-standardized varieties have made linguists aware of the strength of community feelings.[3] Fourth, there has been a major change in the attitude of linguists to writing; contemporary views of phonology have revived the linguistic status of the written language, and disproved the once popular assertion that the written variety is nothing more than a secondary version of the spoken language. Fifthly, and this is what I want to consider in this paper, we have seen in the last few years the development of a new sociolinguistics of literacy, that helps us understand the factors underlying the choice of a language for literacy.

Before we go any further, I think it will be useful to clarify the term literacy, for much confusion arises out of its various uses. Sometimes, we use the term to speak of an individual: in this case it can refer either to minimal ability or to a very high level of ability in reading and writing. Thus, editorials lamenting the loss of popular literacy are more likely to be referring to the fact that graduates of our schools read fewer books than to the fact that fewer people are able to read and write their own name. When we talk about individual literacy, therefore, we need to distinguish between a minimal level of the capacity to read and write or the extent of that capacity and the likelihood of its use. Sometimes, however, the term is used about a society. When we talk about society literacy, a distinction must be made between the capacities of the individuals making up the social group and the role of literacy in the group as a whole. We need, in other words, to distinguish between a judgment about the number of literate individuals there are in a society and the role played by literacy in it.

This distinction between societal and individual literacy is also made in a recent paper by Franz H. Bauml which deals with literacy in the medieval Christian world. As he argues, while it is true that only individuals can read and write, the description of the function of literacy in a society must go beyond an account of the literacy of the individual. His central thesis is as follows:

> Conversely, in a literate society, culturally essential knowledge is transmitted in writing, and whoever has no ready access to it is--also by definition--disadvantaged in respect to his ability to carry out social functions requiring such access. But ready access to the written word is not to be equated with an ability to read and write. It is determined, rather, by the combination of two circumstances: (1) the need for access to the written tradition for the exercise of one's social function, and (2) the use of available means of such access, be it one's own ability to read and write, or another's.[4]

Bauml takes his examples from the use of Latin in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages; other examples are equally striking. Whatever the state of their individual literacy, members of the Navajo Tribal Council are accustomed to functioning in an institution that uses literacy, for their decisions are recorded and the minutes of their meetings are read to them. It does not matter whether the councilmen themselves write or read the minutes, as long as they know that they exist; in the same way, it does not matter to them that the minutes of their meetings are written in English, for they are read aloud to them in a

Navajo translation. The Tribal Council is an institution that has access to and makes use of literacy, whether or not the individual councilmen are able to read or write in English or Navajo.

This distinction between individual and societal literacy helps to clarify the potential relevance to literacy of the various subfields of linguistics. When we are concerned with the literacy of an individual, we find benefit from studying orthography (to which phonology is relevant) and reading (to which psycholinguistics and general linguistics are relevant). When, however, we are looking at societal literacy, we are within the domain of sociolinguistics; the same descriptive categories and approaches are appropriate to describe the use of the written medium within a speech community as are used in describing other aspects of a society's speech repertoire.

Several scholars share in credit for the call to a sociolinguistics of literacy. Ferguson, at the 1978 Georgetown University Roundtable, called attention particularly to the need for a study of "patterns of literacy in multilingual situations."[5] Such studies, he believed, would be relevant to American education.

A second major proponent of a sociolinguistic approach is the British linguist, Michael Stubbs, whose book Language and Literacy: The sociolinguistics of reading and writing has just appeared.[6] Though he acknowledges the work of scholars such as Vachek and Basso, Stubbs points out the absence of a coherent theory of societal literacy and sets out to

> provide the basis for such a theory and to place reading within a discussion of the formal and functional characteristics of language in use in social setting.[7]

He goes some way to meeting this aim, providing an extremely fine analysis of the spelling question so influentially confused by G. B. Shaw and a revealing survey of the topic of linguistic disadvantage.

A third major contributor to the new sociolinguistics of literacy is Joshua Fishman, who in 1978 submitted a proposal to the National Institute of Education for a study of biliterate schools in the United States. In a paper presented at a recent conference, he defines biliteracy and suggests that there are three types:

> biliteracy that arises when a literate society adds literacy in a language of wider communication, as for instance when young Scandinavians and Germans develop literacy also in English.
>
> traditional biliteracy, where two different languages are traditionally written and read within a society.
>
> migration-based literacy, where a speech community having moved to a new area adds literacy in the local language to its earlier literacy.

He identifies within the United States examples of each of these, and proposes that just as stable societal bilingualism depends on the allocation of each language to non-competing and complementary functions, so too does stable societal biliteracy:

> Speech communities maintain biliteracy institutions (such as schools) because they are convinced they need two literacies for two at least partially distinct sets of functions.[6]

This last analysis provides a basis for a first sketch of a model that explains a society's choice of a language for literacy. Let me give the context. For some time now, I have been working with colleagues on a study of the sociolinguistics of literacy with particular reference to the forces underlying language choice in newly literate societies. In one sense, we are dealing with the question that Stern was talking about: what is the best language for initial literacy teaching? As I have said, there is no longer an automatic assumption among linguists and educators that it must be in the first language of the person learning to read. We set out then to look at a number of critical examples. We wanted to contrast the acceptance of vernacular literacy in such cases as nineteenth century Maori and Cherokee and twentieth century Hudson's Bay Eskimo with the acceptance of standard language literacy in contemporary Navajo and Guarani. We planned to investigate other interesting cases, including early twentieth century northern New Mexico and historical Jewish literacy, to see what light they throw on the problem. In doing this, we were responding in part to Ferguson's call, in part to the contemporary concern for increasing popular literacy (our work, like Fishman's, is funded by NIE). Let me try to show how our thinking is developing by describing our first observations of the Navajo situation.

The Navajo Reservation is bilingual, its population is sparse, and literacy of any kind is rare. Public signs of literacy are also rare, and associated with trading posts or with other areas of dense settlement. As the history of written Navajo makes clear, there has been very little acceptance of literacy in Navajo.[9] But nonetheless, it is clearly a literate society: most Navajos have contact with an institution in which writing is used. If they themselves cannot read or write, they can make use of a trading post employee or government clerk; as members of a chapter house or of the tribal council or of a school board, they have minutes of their meeting kept in English and read back to them in Navajo.

There are very few Navajo signs on the reservation: a few symbolic misspelled bilingual ones are all you are likely to come across. On one trip, we found one bilingual notice, but it was in English and Spanish to meet the requirements of the Federal Election Law. A notice immediately beneath it in English about a play left no doubt of the generally accepted language for announcement. There are a lot of well-kept signs around the Tribal Council headquarters in Window Rock, but all are in English.

Essentially, then, the Navajo Reservation is characterizable as a speech community that speaks Navajo but reads and writes English. Of course this should not be overstated, for there are in fact many uses of spoken English on the Reservation. The most common use is when a bilingual Navajo talks to a non-Navajo; in other words, it is the unmarked language for a communication between Navajos and others. Given this fact, we might try as a first hypothesis to explain our observations by proposing that the distinction between the use of spoken Navajo and written English is essentially the same; that is, that it results from participant differentiation, with spoken and written English used for communication with Navajos. Thus English would be the intergroup language and Navajo the intragroup language, and the choice of English for writing would be explained by writing on the Reservation is English to or for non-Navajos, as in letters to and from the US Government. But written English is used for communication among Navajos within the reservation, as is proved by the fact that the Tribal newspaper is entirely in English. Even without the example of the newspaper and of the signs, there is good evidence of the use of written English as a record of spoken Navajo:

> The radio announcers on the Navajo-language stations work from scripts written in English.
>
> Navajo political leaders deliver speeches in Navajo from texts written in English; I am told that there are very few if any who use a written Navajo text.
>
> Groups like the Tribal Council and school board conduct their business in Navajo; the minutes are written in English, but they are read back to them in Navajo.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, and following Bauml's definition, the society is certainly literate. Moreover, there are internal uses of literacy, and the literacy is in a different language from the dominant spoken language. The intergroup/intragroup distinction does not by itself explain the use of English literacy. (See Figure 1.)

Language Use on the Navajo Reservation

	Internal Intragroup	External Intergroup
Spoken	N	E
Written	E	E

Figure One

Another explanation following from the observation that there is also use of spoken English among Navajos; there are spoken Navajos monolingual in English (usually the children of Navajos who have lived off the reservation for some time) and some bilinguals who choose English to speak to other Navajos in certain situations (the kind of code-switching analyzed first most clearly by Gumperz[10]). It is this that gives us the clue that we are dealing with a special case of diglossia, although I am hesitant to extend the term this far.

The term diglossia must be defined. I have already mentioned the distinction between individual and societal bilingualism; diglossia refers to the latter, and to speech communities where two languages each play significant social roles. Sometimes societal bilingualism is more or less stable, depending for this, as Fishman has pointed out, on differential functional allocation of the languages involved:[11] on a situation where the two languages fill different roles in the society. Ferguson used the term diglossia for one special kind of stable societal bilingualism where the two varieties are closely related, where the roles cluster into what Ferguson labelled an H set (public and formal) and an L (private and intimate), and where both varieties are used for intergroup purposes by the same people.[12] Fishman extended the term to situations where the varieties are not closely related: thus where Ferguson restricted it to cases like Classical and Vernacular Arabic, and French and Haitian Creole, Fishman uses it for the various cases described by Gumperz of different languages filling these roles. Fishman then extends it further and uses it in instances where the two varieties are not spoken by the same people (diglossia without bilingualism).[13] And I am tempted to use it for the situation with spoken Navajo and written English on the Navajo reservation.

Doing so adds another to the three kinds of biliteracy described by Fishman. Just as at one extreme we have the case where a community speaks and writes the same language, so we have cases where a society speaks one language but writes another. What should we call a society monoliterate in one language and monoglossic in another? I'll leave the terms to others (Cooper has tentatively suggested biglossia), but want in this paper to explore some implications of the concept.

In the Navajo case, the unmarked language for speaking is Navajo, the intragroup language, and the unmarked language for writing is English, the intergroup language. This is similar to the situation that Bauml describes for medieval Christian literacy, where the intergroup language, Latin, was used for writing and the intragroup local vernacular was used for speech only.

Two Medieval Examples

Christian	Written:	Latin (Intergroup)
	Spoken:	Vernacular (Intragroup)
Jewish (some)	Written:	Hebrew (Intragroup)
	Spoken:	Vernacular (Intergroup)

Figure Two

Is this division necessarily so? Consider the various stages of post-Exilic Jewish literacy. Here, we find periods in which the unmarked language of literacy was Hebrew, the intragroup language,[14] but the unmarked language of speech was the intergroup language. Examples of such periods were those when Jews spoke a variety of Middle High German that had not yet become Yiddish or a variety of Arabic that was not yet clearly distinguished from that of other urban dwellers, but continued to read and write Hebrew. (Figure 2) It is important to note here that this occurred only in the comparatively rare periods in Jewish history where Jews were accepted in the gentile world.[15]

Let's see what sort of model might help account for these observations. My aim is a model that will deal with the adoption of literacy, but I suspect that in fact it will be of much wider use, for from a sociolinguistic point of view the choice of variety of language for writing is just another question of variety choice.

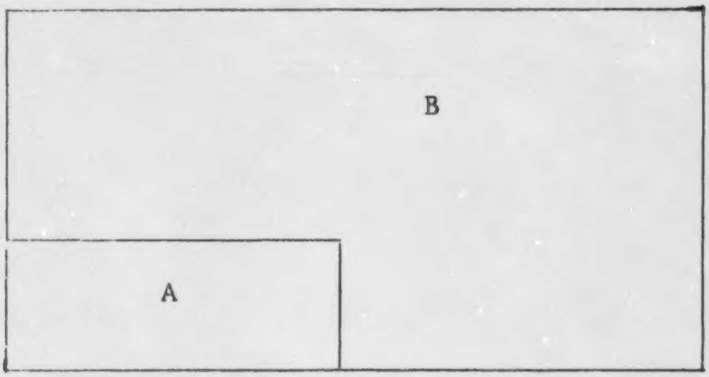
First some terms and definitions.

Each individual is a member of one or more speech communities. A speech community is undetermined as to size and is defined by the fact that it shares one or more identifiable varieties of language and the rules for appropriate use.[16] A speech community can contain smaller speech communities and can overlap with others; any individual normally belongs to several. I assume speech communities to be coterminous with other structured social groups, themselves definable in terms other than linguistic. Just as an individual belongs to several speech communities, so she or he belongs to more than one structured social group. Because of the intimate and mutual relationship between language and society, I assume that each recognizable social group is also likely to be recognizable linguistically. An individual's membership of a structured social group is definable in terms of status. Status is defined by social anthropologists as a set of rights and responsibilities within a defined social group. Social situations or interactions cluster into domains, and an individual's status is defined in terms of domain; each individual functions in several different domains, and can have several different statuses.[17] For example, when my son is working for me, our relative status may be defined in the familial domain in kinship terms and in the economic domain in employment terms. (In his paper, Breitborde shows how this use of the term domain is different from but clearly relatable to Fishman's use of it to collocate situation topic, and participant.) Statuses have value assigned to them by members of a social group. Each individual functions in several different domains, and can thus have several different statuses.[17] For example, when my son is working for me, our relative status may be defined in the familial domain in kinship terms and in the economic domain in employment terms. (In his paper, Breitborde shows how this use of the term domain is different from but clearly relatable to Fishman's use of it to collocate situation, topic, and participant.) Statuses have value assigned to them by members of a social group. Each individual or each social group has a system according to which it assigns value to statuses. Varieties of language are associated with statuses and registers are associated with domains. Varieties and registers derive their value from the statuses and domains with which they are associated, in accordance with the system of values of the group making the judgment. An individual chooses to assign values to a variety or register in accordance with a group in which he or she already has status (his or her membership group) or with which he or she wishes to identify (his or her reference group), whether or not he or she is a member of it.

In any given social situation, an individual judges and selects the language variety appropriate to the status which he or she is assuming. When I am talking to my employee-son at home, the unmarked variety will be that appropriate to the familial domain; at the office, the unmarked variety will be that appropriate to the economic domain. Code switching is thus to be seen as a method of dealing with the tensions created by uncertainty between two statuses or the desire to maintain both.

I have said that each group has not just its own linguistic repertoire, but also its own set of values assigned to the statuses represented by that repertoire. This is what provides the dynamism of the model. When two previously separate social groups come into regular contact, a language must be chosen for intergroup communication. It might be a variety that has not previously been used within either of the groups; more often it will be the intragroup language of the dominant group. Within the other group, users of that variety are accorded a status such as interpreter or broker, and valued according to that status. When the Hopi chiefs went to Washington in 1890, they used as interpreter the chief of Hano, Tom Polacca, whom they considered to be no more important than any other chief of state considers an interpreter. President McKinley on the other hand applied a different system of values: he took Polacca's knowledge of English and service as spokesman to suggest that he was the leader of the group, in direct contrast to Hopi values.[18]

Let's see what this gives us so far.



Within the A speech community (see Figure 3), the status associated with the intergroup variety may be valued in accordance with A group values.[19] If enough members of Group A acquire language B for intergroup use, keeping language A for intragroup use, we have stable societal bilingualism. An individual may take over B values as well, and wish to be judged by his or her status in B, his or her reference group.[20] Such an individual might then start using language B within group A. In some cases, the whole group might start doing this, leading to language shift.

Look at our examples again, starting with the medieval Jewish case. As Max Weinreich describes it,[21] the Jewish speakers of a Romance vernacular Loez (A), who moved into the Rhineland came into contact there with speakers of varieties of Middle High German of (B), and started to use German rather than their Romance vernacular for intergroup communication. Because of the value assigned within their community (A) to intergroup statuses, because of comparatively free interaction with speakers of (B), and because there was no special loyalty attached to Loez, Middle High German soon became the intragroup (A) language in all but the religious domain. In that domain, throughout Jewish history, the status of religious teacher and learner, intimately associated with written Hebrew-Aramaic, continued to have a high value. For a while then, one had the kind of situation I have described above. Middle High German, the previous intergroup variety, became unmarked for speech for intragroup functions as well, and Hebrew, the intragroup language par excellence, continued unmarked for writing in all domains. The Crusades brought about a change when this harrowing experience turned the Jewish community in on itself. As a result, first, the intergroup language became increasingly different from Middle High German and ultimately recognizable as an intergroup variety (Yiddish). Second, as the statuses associated with Yiddish increased in value, it started to become appropriate to use it for writing in some domains.

In the Navajo case, too, there is evidence of increasing pressure for modification in language use. As more and more Navajos accept the value system of the outside community, spoken English starts to play its role in intragroup statuses. At the same time, there are those who are struggling to maintain the prestige of Navajo by starting to use it for literacy. How hard their task is will be clear to all who have worked in the area of vernacular literacy, and it is most revealing to look at their efforts. There are two important exceptions to the basic monoliteracy of the Navajo Reservation: a group of Navajo Christians who read and study the Bible in Navajo, and some school programs that aim at Navajo literacy. We have studied one in particular, Rock Point Community School.[22] From a distance, Rock Point Community School announces itself by an English sign on its water towers, and so seems to maintain the general rule of the Reservation. However, a bilingual sign at the front gate shows the Navajo policy. Just inside the gate, the speed limit sign is in English, but, and this is the first real evidence of the attempt to establish functional Navajo literacy, the doors outside the classroom buildings are labelled in Navajo only.

Inside the classrooms, it is obvious that there is a biliteracy program. In the primary grades, the classes are divided with a Navajo language teacher at one end and an English language teacher at the other, an excellent symbol of intended diglossia! There is therefore material written in Navajo in all the primary grade rooms. But just to teach Navajo is not enough; English has for too long been the language of school and of writing, as shown by the occasional use of English in a sign meant to encourage Navajo literacy or the use of a functional label in English above students' work in Navajo. It clearly calls for a special effort to start using written Navajo for functional purposes, to show the students that Navajo is not just a language to be learned in class, but also a language that has an important social role. As the educators at Rock Point became conscious of the difficulty of changing established habits and attitudes to the standard language, they started to realize the special efforts that were needed for a vernacular language like Navajo to replace or even move into an equal place with English for literacy.[23]

We can see from these examples how the sociolinguistic model we have proposed helps understand the conditions in which literacy is adopted and the language which is preferred for it. In most cases, literacy is introduced to a speech community from outside and by outsiders.[24] It is thus normal for it to continue to be marked as alien even when it is in the intragroup language.[25] As time goes on, and as the old group changes to accommodate and accept the newly introduced values, literacy too may slowly become integrated. Tension continues between old and new values, between a tendency to integrate the new function by having literacy in the vernacular and one to continue to mark its external associations by having literacy in the standardized outgroup language. The functional division may remain stable; as we noted, it is not uncommon to have a society monoglossic in a vernacular and monoliterate in another language.

The model is still too generalized to more than hint at its power, but it goes further than just explaining why bilingual education is, as Stern pointed out, a perfectly viable option. With further refinement, it should help us understand not just language choice in literacy but the wider problem of language choice in general. The same prime elements, status, social group or speech community, values, seem useful whether we are dealing with the variety to be used for literacy or for speech. This I take to be a strength of the model. Whatever comes of it, it seems that treating literacy as a sociolinguistic phenomenon should, like any good applied linguistics, have useful implications for both theory and practice.

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14. To be more precise, Hebrew-Aramaic, the language for religious matters (Loshn Koydesh), which was as Fishman points out, the "intergroup traditional biliterate language."

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19. This is similar to the situation that leads to what Wallace Lambert has labelled "instrumental motivation."

20. Presumably what Lambert labels "integrative motivation."

21. Weinreich.

22. See Paul Rosier and Wayne Holm, The Rock Point Experience: A Longitudinal Study of a Navajo School Program (Saad Naaki Bee Na'nitin), Papers in Applied Linguistics, Bilingual Education Series, 8, Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980.

23. Of course, as Holm and Rosier, Rock Point, have shown, the biliteracy program has already had major impact on improving the school's achievement in teaching English reading.

24. Cherokee is an important exception.

25. Note the continued opposition to literacy in Pueblo Indian languages.

GUARANI LITERACY IN PARAGUAY

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The task of establishing literacy in a language whose tradition has been entirely or mainly oral is a difficult one, particularly in settings where speakers have the option of choosing literacy in a more prestigious standard language. Tha lack of teaching materials, the absence of a body of literature, meager financial resources, orthographic debates, and negative attitudes frequently associated with vernacular languages all contribute to the complexity of the task (UNESCO, 1951; Treffgarne, 1981).

The relatively small country of Paraguay is currently attempting to develop a language policy and a plan for literacy development which is responsive to its long established bilingual tradition, that is, to the existence of its two major languages, Spanish and Guarani. The language situation in Paraguay is unique in Latin America. It is the only nation in which a vernacular language, Guarani, is widely spoken throughout the country even though Spanish has been the official language since the 16th century. Paraguay has been described as "basically a Guarani-speaking nation with a heavy incidence of Spanish-Guarani bilingualism in which each language tends to fulfill distinct functions" (Rubin, 1968). The present Paraguayan constitution recognizes the prevailing diglossia of the nation by declaring that "the national languages of the republic are Spanish and Guarani." Although Guarani is constitutionally recognized and given wide support as a national language, Spanish is the official language and is the major language of education, religion, government, and high culture. Even though Guarani has been a written language due to the efforts of Jesuit missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries, Spanish has traditionally been the language in which the Paraguayan citizen learns to read and write. (Rubin, 1968)

Within the past few years however, there has emerged a new recognition of of the importance of Guarani in the lives of Paraguayan citizens and in the nation as a whole. With this recognition has come an increased interest in promoting Guarani literacy in an attempt to uplift the status of its written tradition. The purpose of this article is to review the significance of the written tradition of Guarani, including the historical and contemporary uses of Guarani literacy. A second purpose of this article is to review the efforts now being made to promote Guarani literacy. The efforts have their basis in two sources: the existence of a small group of Guarani enthusiasts, primarily intellectuals, who are intent on promoting Guarani literacy as part of a great, national tradition, and; the educational system which is beginning to recognize the serious language and academic problems of rural, monolingual, Guarani-speaking children. The review intends to clarify some of the sociolinguistic issues involved in the development of an effective language and literacy policy for Paraguay.

The role of Guarani in Paraguayan life

The bilingual situation in Paraguay is in many ways a classic illustration of diglossia, a concept originally developed by Ferguson (1959) and later elaborated by Fishman (1968). Originally, Ferguson used the concept of diglossia to describe relatively stable language situations in which a single society employed two closely related languages (e.g. classical and regional Arabic, Greek and Haitian Creole) with each language serving separate and distinct social functions. According to Ferguson, the High (H) variety typically carries greater prestige, is generally used in religion, education, and government, and frequently represents a sizeable body of written literature. The Low (L) variety is typically used in the home, in the everyday work sphere, and seldom has a written tradition.

Fishman (1968) elaborated Ferguson's concept of diglossia by suggesting that "for a community to maintain two languages in a more or less stable manner, each musts be associated with a particular subset of complementary community values" (p. 970).

According to Fishman, the community language which expresses such values as intimacy, solidarity, spontaneity and ethnicity would typically be used in domains such as family and friendship. Conversely the other language which expresses such values as status differentiation, interpersonal distance, power relationships and formality would generally be used in domains such as education, employment and religion. Since each of the languages supports and sustains a distinct set of values, each language plays an important role in the total communication network of that community and therefore the continued existence and use of both languages is more likely.

In a classic study of the language situation in Paraguay, Rubin (1968) was the first to explain that Spanish and Guarani have co-existed in a complementary relationship for several centuries given the unique pattern of diglossia which had developed. As a general pattern, Rubin found that bilingual Paraguayans (which constituted 90% of the country's population) used Guarani for purposes of expressing informality, intimacy and group solidarity, while Spanish was used in situations characterized by formality, social distance and status-stressing interactions. As a result of Spanish and Guarani serving separate and non-conflicting societal functions, Rubin predicted that the existing language situation (stable bilingualism) in Paraguay would continue for many years to come.

As Rubin's work indicates, the pattern of bilingualism in Paraguay has some special characteristics that distinguish it from diglossic situations in other Latin American countries. Generally, the uniqueness of the Paraguayan situation can be attributed to the vitality and widespread use of Guarani as a spoken language coupled with the special status and position it holds in the national life.

The special position of Guarani can be contrasted with the situation of Aymara in Bolivia, with Quechua varieties in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, with the many hundreds indigenous languages spoken in Mexico and even with the situation of many minority languages in the United States. Generally speaking, indigenous languages in Latin American countries are associated with poor, rural, marginal, socially and culturally dislocated groups who live outside the main current of the general society. At least in some cases, these vernacular languages have very little chance to survive as spoken languages, given the tremendous assimilatory pressures represented by the dominant Spanish language.

In contrast, Guarani finds itself in a much stronger position that other indigenous, non-European languages in Latin America. The situations in which Quechua in Ecuador and Aymara in Bolivia find themselves in is an unequal, asymetrical diglossia where power lies clearly with the dominant H language, whereas in Paraguay there exists a more even co-equal relationship between Spanish and Guarani. Specifically, Guarani occupies a special position due to a number of sociocultural reasons. First of all, Guarani has national stature, i.e. it is spoken by all segments of Paraguayan society, including government officials (the president of the country has historically been a speaker of Guarani), teachers, professionals, business leaders, merchants etc. Guarani is not associated only with rural, poor, socially subordinate groups, as Aymara and Quechua are.

Secondly, Guarani has been a written language for centuries, although debates about its orthography continue and, as we shall see later, its written tradition is narrow and limited to special functions. Third, Guarani represents national tradition and because it has been officially recognized by government and constitutional powers, it is increasingly being seen by many Paraguayan citizens as a significant factor in defining Paraguayan nationality. (Rubin, 1978) As a symbol or marker of national identity and because it commands such a high degree of language loyalty, Guarani has been accorded a special status and prestige that is unique in Latin American countries.

Two other reasons contribute to the high status and position of Guarani. Guarani's vitality is high; unlike other Latin American languages which are currently threatened by modernization, industrialization, technology and urbanization, Guarani is actually gaining in strength (Rubin, 1978). The stable nature of the bilingualism in Paraguay is in contrast to the temporary, transitional bilingualism that exists in other Latin American countries. Finally, unlike the Quechua and Aymara situations, Guarani doesn't represent a separate and distinct cultural group. Instead, in Paraguay, two languages co-exist with no significant biculturality, and both languages are seen as important for self-development as well as national development. The potential for ethnic divisiveness due to cultural or ethnic group differences is simply not a factor in Paraguay.

As the previous discussion might indicate, the model of diglossia formulated by Ferguson (1959) does not in fact precisely describe the Paraguayan situation. Diglossia typically implies a dominant-subordinate relationship, a powerful, politically prestigious language with wide social utility and another language, less useful, more marginal, little or no literacy attached to it, and generally vulnerable to displacement by modernizing forces.

While it can be argued that Spanish and Guarani are related in a dominant-subordinate way, it is also clear that Guarani has an importance in the national life of Paraguay that far surpasses that of any other indigenous language in Latin America. It is likewise clear that Guarani has the potential for assuming a much more important role in modern Paraguayan life that goes far beyond the L functions described by Ferguson's diglossia model. An examination of the written traditions of Guarani, an H function according to Ferguson, and the potential for increasing individual and societal literacy in this language is the subject of the remainder of this paper.

Guarani: written tradition

The Spanish colonizers found no written material in Guarani when they arrived in what is now the country of Paraguay. The process through which Guarani has passed from being a purely oral language to becoming a written language parallels the history of the country. This process begins with what Meliá (1978) calls the Hispanic reduction (1542-Present), that is the establishment of the Spanish colonial rule which marks the beginning of the diglossic relationship between Spanish and Guarani. Although the Spanish colonizers were few and quickly became part of the Guarani society due to intermarriage (Melia, 1975), the political, economic, and to a certain extent, the religious domains were reserved for Spanish.

The first Guarani orthography, grammar and dictionaries were developed by the Jesuit missionaries very early in the colonial period. By 1640 Father Montoya had published two works, "Tesoro de la Lengua Guaraní" and "Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Guaraní," which systematized the writing system through the use of Spanish orthography. The purpose of these works was to teach the language to new missionaries and help them in spreading the Christian faith. Subsequent works had the same purpose. By 1656, the "Catecismo" by Father Bolanos had been approved for use in the Jesuit missions. Written production in Guarani remained limited to religious themes: catechisms, sermons, rituals and pious books (many of these were translations) even after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768. One notable exception to works on religious themes were the letter written by the Indian councils during and after the Guaranitic wars of 1753 - 1756 (Melia, 1978). These letters contain speeches by the Indian leaders who resisted further colonization.

The period starting at Independence from Spain (1811) through the aftermath of the war of the Triple Alliance (1864-1870) against Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina which Paraguay lost, was characterized by massive hispanization and preference for the non-Paraguayan (Rubin, 1968). It wasn't until the late 19th century that works about the Guarani language and culture began to appear in Spanish. A new sense of nationalism emerged, particularly during the Chaco was against Bolivia (1932-1935) which Paraguay won. Guarani was then associated with the new nationalism. This change of attitudes and the victory of the nationalist Colorado party in 1948 brought about the recognition of Guarani as a national language in the constitution of 1967.

At the present time written Guarani is found in signs marking the geography of the nation; names of establishments such as stores, restaurants, pharmacies, credit unions and schools; in occasional advertising of products such as Coca Cola; in the packaging of various products like teas and jams, and in the names of groups such as military regiments. Written Guarani is also found in books, booklets, pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals. Except for newspapers, these materials are of limited availability and represent only a small percentage of the total available print.

Guarani literature has had its finest expression in the forms of theatre, poetry, narrative, and song and it is in these forms that Guarani writers have excelled. Theatre plays are found in two forms: autoctonous works in which the prevailing theme is the contrast of rural and urban ways of life, and which tend to use colloquial Guarani; and translations of masterpieces in other languages such as "Yerma" by García Lorca and the Mollière comedies. Guarani theatre is immensely popular within all strata of the country.

Poetry appears in volumes containing only Guarani pieces and in anthologies which include poetry in Spanish as well. Occasionally newspapers feature poems within a weekly section dedicated to Guarani topics. The themes which predominate are of a bucolic, erotic, historic, or moral nature. Although literature in Guarani is a source of national identity and pride for Paraguayans, most literature is still written in Spanish. Many writers reflecting on this situation have concluded that the reason why Guarani literature is rather narrow is because written Guarani is not learned early in the schools. Furthermore, it has been suggested that literature in either language is not as prolific as it could be because Paraguayan writers feel "caught" in their bilingualism. They often feel they would like to express some feelings in Guarani but they don't have the fluency to write it. (Canese, 1980)

The bilingual journal Nemitỹ has recently become a medium for the dissemination of Guarani poetry and narrative. It was first published in 1977 under the auspices of the Paraguayan Center for Sociological Research. In addition to poetry and narrative, it publishes articles on bilingualism, Guarani grammar and linguistics, and related topics.

Paraguayan songs are celebrated in Latin America for their beauty and melody. Songs in Spanish which use some Guarani words are well known throughout the Spanish-speaking portion of the continent and are recognized as markers of Paraguayan identity. Authorship of music and lyrics is registered through the Association of Paraguayan Authors in Asuncion. Songs are published in periodical "cancioneros" or song books sold in newsstands. Ocara

Poty Cue Mí (Memories from the Country), *Eireteñú* (Honey from the Fields) and *Isíri* (Water Stream) are some of the most prominent song books. Since oral Guarani is prevalent in society and Guarani orthographies are based on the Spanish system, Spanish readers can transfer their skills to the reading of Guarani songs with relative ease.

Narrative in Guarani has its primary sources in the myths, legends, and songs of the ancient tribes which have been transmitted orally through generations. The first written transcription of Guarani myths was carried out in 1914 by the German Anthropologist, Nimuendaju, in Brazil. Since then, many Paraguayan authors have recorded the myths of various Guarani groups through the use of anthropological methods. Others are inspired by similar sources to publish original material based on folklore.

Descriptions of the Guarani language are abundant. They appear in occasional newspaper articles, books, and periodical articles. Some authors describe and discuss linguistic, phonetic or grammatical aspects of the language, while other authors attempt to make Guarani available to individuals wishing to learn the language often for practical purposes as is the case of foreign missionaries and American Peace Corps volunteers.

Since the public secondary schools curriculum includes Guarani as a subject, course books in Guarani are available for Paraguayan students with various degrees of proficiency in Guarani are available. The addition of Guarani as a subject was only introduced during the last decade, therefore, many works dealing with this area may be expected in the future.

Descriptions of Guarani and courses in the language are not void of polemics. During the process of publication, Guarani authors are forced to make decisions about which orthography to use. In doing so, they take a position within the present debates on the legitimacy and appropriateness of the two currents of thought about orthography. These currents are: the "scientifist" which advocates the use of modern phonetics in defining correspondence between grapheme and sound, and the "traditionalist", whose proponents insits that Guarani orthography has its deepest roots in the Paraguayan people who have written songs and poetry in the traditional system.

Adult literacy programs in Guarani often use written transcriptions of oral narratives in their texts and make use of Guarani speakers' identification with the content to motivate their acquisition of literacy skills. The question of which orthography to use is as controversial in these programs as it is in other areas of the teaching of Guarani.

The use of Guarani as an instrumental means of communicating information of a practical nature is limited to pamphlets such as "Ñemongetarä" which addresses issues of importance to farmers and agriculturalists. Materials with religious content are more numerous. Examples of these items are the Bible and "Sendero", a Catholic bimonthly newspaper which publishes articles in Guarani and Spanish.

Table I classifies written materials according to type of content.

TYPE OF CONTENT	EXAMPLES	NOTES
THEATRE		
Autoctonous (uses colloquial Guarani and native themes)	"Karu Pokã" - Los Mal Comidos by J. Correa	Available in bookstores. Enormously popular when presented in theatres.
Translations	Molliere's The Miser	Available in bookstores.
BOOKS OF POETRY		
Poems in Guarani included in Spanish texts	"Vy'a Rire" A. Escobar	Typically sold in bookstores.
BOOKLETS OF SONGS AND MUSIC	"Ìsîrî" (Water Stream) "Ocará Poty Cue Mí" (Honey from the Field) "Eireteñú" (Memories from the Country)	Collections of songs in both languages. Sold in newsstands.
PROSE	Narrations in Ñemitỹ	Available in Nemity and other publications
CULTURE AND FOLKLORE		
Transcriptions of oral traditions	"Ywyra Ñe-ery" by L. Cadogan (The Words Flow from the Tree)	Anthropological transcriptions of myths, legends and songs. Usually in book form.
GUARANI LANGUAGE STUDY		
Dictionaries	"Nuevo Diccionario Español-Guaraní" by A. Ortiz Mayans	Intended for use by non-Guarani speakers or for secondary school students. Sold in Bookstores.
Courses	"El Guaraní a su Alcance" by Melia, et al "Avañe-e" Course for secondary schools by T. Zarratea and F. Acosta	
Vocabularies	"Nociones del Idioma Guaraní para Uso Médico" by N. Canese, et al	Guarani for special purposes.
Crossword puzzles, tongue-twisters and jokes	"Hoy" newspaper	Appear weekly.
Adult literacy in Guarani	"Ne'e Renda", Proyecto Paí-Tavyterã	Typically distributed by the literacy projects.

Periodical articles and books on all aspects of Guarani linguistics.	Revista Ǹemitỹ "El Idioma Guaraní" by A. Guasch	Studies of grammar, phonetics and linguistics. Sold through subscription and directly by the publisher.
INFORMATION	"Ñemongetarä" (The Forum)	Provide information of practical nature.
	"T'embiú Paraguai" (Paraguayan Food)	This cookbook uses Guarani names and Spanish directions.
RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS Books, pamphlets and newspapers	"Sendero" bi-monthly newspaper "Iniciación a la Biblia" by the Oficio Catequístico "Tañamomorâ Tupăme" (28 Psalms) by P. Scott	Intended for personal use or in religious instruction. Distributed through the churches.
TOPONIMY AND SIGNS	Restaurants, businesses; "Yasy Retá" (Moon House) Pharmacies: "Pojha Raity" (The Nest of Remedies) Credit Union: "Oga Rape" (The Road to the House) Military regiment: "Ytororo" (Thundering Water) Cities: "Ita" (Stone) Hills, lakes, rivers, etc.: "Ypacarai" (Sir, We are out of water) lake	Signs constitute the most obvious use of written Guarani. Loans from Guarani are typical of Paraguayan Spanish and appear in many Spanish writings.

Education and Guarani literacy

In spite of the fact that there was a period in which Guarani was discouraged and even forbidden to be spoken in the school, the educational system of Paraguay is a potential source for the development of Guarani literacy. Having only recently been introduced, the establishment of bilingual education programs is seen by some observers as the means by which literacy in Guarani can be achieved on a large scale basis. As shall be shown, the introduction of experimental bilingual education programs is a specific response to the serious educational difficulties encountered by rural, monolingual, Guarani-speaking children as they attempt to learn in Spanish, an unknown language for many of them, but the traditional language of instruction in Paraguayan schools.

As a general rule, the demographic distribution of Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay follows a rural/urban pattern with Guarani monolingualism predominating in the villages and rural areas (Rubin, 1978). On the other hand, Spanish monolingualism which is small, along with a substantial bilingualism, characterizes the capital city of Asuncion as well as other major town and cities. More specifically, the 1962 census reports 52.3 percent monolingual Guarani speakers in the rural areas. The capital of Asuncion reported 76.1 percent Spanish-Guarani bilinguals in contrast to 43 percent bilingualism in the interior or rural areas. Said differently, a total of 93.5 percent of the total population of Paraguay were reported as Guarani speakers and only 58.8 percent as Spanish speakers. As the figures above indicate, the heavy rate of Guarani monolingualism found in the countryside has considerable importance in planning educational programs as well as in deciding the language to be used as the medium of instruction.

With regard to educational statistics, the num ber of monolingual Guarani children entering rural schools is estimated at 90 percent (Rubin, 1968). In 1972, only 4.7 percent of the children who entered first grade in rural schools completed the six years of elementary schooling. In the cities, 30.6 percent obtained the same level of schooling. In the same year, one out of one hundred finished secondary school in the rural areas in contrast to one out of every ten in the cities (Ministerio, 1978). The high dropout rate and school repetition rates are given further validation in Educacion Bilingue en el Paraguay (1981), a teacher's manual which is widely used in the country:

> "Why is it that 20% of our children do not attend classes?
> Language is one of the causes.
> Why is it that 21% repeat first grade?
> Language is one of the causes.
> Why is it that 64% of our Paraguayan children leave school before completing their primary education?
> Language is one of the causes.
> Why is it that 30% of our children drop out during the first cycle of primary education?
> Language is one of the causes. (p. 11)

As indicated earlier, the implementation of a bilingual education program is one of the ways in which the Paraguayan Ministry of Education and Culture is attempting to improve the educational success rate of rural Guarani speaking children. The program has been in existence on an experimental basis since 1978 and is now undergoing extensive evaluation.

The philosophical orientation and the basic principles of the bilingual program are clearly described in the ministry of education publication, Educacion Bilingue en el Paraguay.(1981) The publication makes the following important points which are paraphrased here:

- Guarani, a great national treasure, should be taught in the schools because it is a mother tongue of a majority of Paraguayans and because it is a symbol of national cohesion.

- Spanish should be taught in the schools because it is the official language of the country and because it gives the students access to universal culture.

Perhaps more importantly, the manual emphasizes that the elementary student value and be able to communicate with confidence in the two national languages. Basic skills in Spanish should be developed in listening, speaking, reading and writing. Basic skills in Guarani are to be developed in listening and speaking only. The manual goes on to emphasize that the program should give much emphasis to the sociocultural Paraguayan patrimony which is the heritage of all Paraguayan children and that Guarani and Spanish are both forms of expressing this Paraguayan heritage.

The bilingual program itself consists of very structured audio-lingual dialogues intended to teach Spanish to children from grades 1 through 3. The program is similar to many of the English as a Second language program used in the southwest United States in the 1960's to teach English to Hispanic and American Indian children. Literacy is initiated and continued in Spanish while Guarani is used orally to assist the transition to Spanish. All subject matter content and instructional materials are in Spanish.

By design then, the program is intended to teach literacy in Spanish with Guarani used only for oral purposes. Since literacy is not developed in Guarani, critics charge that the main purpose of the bilingual program is actually to teach Spanish better, and in effect, to more quickly and effectively *Hispanicize* the monolingual Guarani child. Furthermore, the attention Guarani receives is only symbolic and cosmetic, since no full development of Guarani is intended by the program. Finally, critics warn that the bilingual program, in addition to violating the principle that children learn best through the mother tongue, may have the additional long-term effect of relegating Guarani to a second-class language and ultimately lead to serious language loss.

In contrast to the elementary school bilingual program, the junior high and secondary school program offer instruction in Guarani either as an elective or a required course. This program had its beginning in 1955 and actually replaced the traditional offering of Latin courses in many schools throughout the country. The purpose of these courses is to promote the study of Guarani as a cultural subject in addition to studying its grammar and developing skills in both reading and writing. Traditional Guarani tales and folklore are used as content for the courses. Teachers in these courses are given specific linguistic training in the grammar of the language and contrastive analysis, much as foreign language teachers in the United States receive.

In addition, Guarani is also taught at the university level particularly in Asuncion. The establishment of Guarani programs at the secondary school and university levels can be attributed largely to Professor Decoud Larrosa who occupied a chair of the Guarani language in the major university of Asuncion from 1951-1961 (Rubin, 1968). Decoud Larrosa has perhaps been the most outspoken enthusiast of Guarani in regard to establishing and promoting it as a written language. Decoud Larrosa's work, including his conviction that Guarani-speaking children should begin school instruction in their native language, has served as an inspiration for current Guarani writers and enthusiasts.

At both the elementary, secondary and university levels, there is very mixed reaction with respect to bilingual education and the teaching of Guarani in its written form. Those in support of teaching Guarani only in its oral form argue that this type of program is congruent with the sociolinguistic reality and the traditional patterns of language usage in the society at large. They indicate that in the minds of most Paraguayans, literacy is already strongly associated with Spanish and to introduce Guarani literacy would only serve to upset prevailing sociolinguistic norms and values and ultimately disturb the long-established diglossia of the country. Along with this, these individuals point out that there are few reading materials in Guarani and therefore teaching literacy in Guarani does not serve any functional, objective needs of the community.

The controversy involved in the Paraguay bilingual education program illustrates the difficulties involved in adding biliteracy to a bilingual program, particularly in diglossic speech communities like Paraguay, where traditionally one language has been used by many for most spoken functions and a different language for most written functions. The situation in Paraguay is similar to many bilingual programs developed for American Indians in New Mexico and the Southwestern United States. These communities have attempted to deal with the issue of vernacular literacy by adopting a policy of bilingualism without biliteracy. Typically, these programs teach literacy in English only with the native language being used for identity or cultural maintenance reasons, but only orally. Whether this type of program will actually result in language maintenance over time is unknown.

This paper has attempted to illustrate that biliteracy is not an inevitable, logical and natural extention of bilingualism, in Paraguay or elsewhere. Establishing literacy in a language that has mainly been used for spoken functions means going against long-established patterns of language use. If literacy in Guarani is to be achieved on a large scale basis, it will require a major effort on the part of not only the school but the society as a whole.

Societal views of Guarani literacy

From the authors' viewspoint, which was gained from school observations and interviews with all strata of society, at least three different views of the role of Guarani in national life can be identified among the citizenry of Paraguay. Emphasizing that these are seldom hard and fast categories and that they frequently overlap, these classifications can be characterized as the nationalist view, the traditional-functionalist view, and the Hispanicist view. Each of these views can be related to the issue of whether they are in support of promoting Guarani literacy and whether they have access to it.

The nationalist sees the use of Guarani primarily in ideological terms. The nationalist, almost exclusively a member of a small, but growing group of an urban based intelligentia, is intent on promoting Guarani as a national treasure and as a cultural possession that is uniquely Paraguayan. Unlike the traditionalist, the nationalist chooses to identify Guarani with nationhood, with Paraguayness, with "Great tradition" with songs and poetry, with high intellectual pursuit, with historical mission and national struggle (e.g. choosing to emphasize the strong role Guarani played in the Chaco War as well as the war of the Triple Alliance). Clearly, the nationalist recognizes the communicative functional usefulness of Guarani, but chooses to highlight the significance of Guarani as a symbol of national identify. As an important mobilizer for the Guarani renaissance, the nationalist will continue to push for more governmental and educational assistance in support of Guarani literacy and tradition.

The traditionalist-functionalist view refers to that large segment of Paraguayan society which uses Guarani out of habitual, tradition-bound and pragmatic reasons, rather than with some sense of ideology. The largest group of traditionalists would be the rural, monolingual Guarani-speaking Paraguayan whose use of Guarani is rooted in the habits and traditions of family, home, and daily communal life. Since the traditionalist lives an isolated rural existence, he rarely has any significant contact with Spanish except through school related experience. Given the fact that at present Guarani is taught only at the secondary school level, it is clear that access to Guarani literacy seems dependent upon access to a high degree of education. Ironically, the rural school children who are the most dominant Guarani speakers have little access to Guarani literacy because they generally don't stay in school long enough to avail themselves of high school Guarani classes.

The traditionalist group also includes the urban Paraguayan, who is frequently bilingual, but has need to use Guarani functionally and instrumentally in daily living, in all levels of employment, but more important in the full context of modern life. Perhaps more than the rural traditionalist, the urban traditionalist has strong emotional attachments and even sentimentality towards Guarani, but views Spanish as the language of greater prestige as well as the vehicle of economic and social mobility. He would be skeptical towards the idea proposed by proponents of Guarani as a proper subject for use and study in the educational system.

The Hispanicist view stems primarily from urban-based, monolingual Spanish-speaking Paraguayans (in some cases denying their ability to speak Guarani) who are frequently professional or white collar employees having achieved or are in the process of achieving middle or upper class economic status. The Hispanicist frequently admires traditional Hispanic culture particularly if the themes are based on classic Hispanic and European models. Unfavorable and even negative attitudes toward Guarani and its Indian origins are expressed by the Hispanicist, who claims that Guarani has no value, its speakers are generally uneducated or poorly educated, and in the long run, Guarani is an impediment to individual and national development. In order to provide a modern world view, the Hispanicist typically enrolls his children in private schools in Asuncion where they can benefit from enrolling in English, German, or other world language classes. Insofar as public education is concerned, the Hispanicist would view the role of the school as one promoting Spanish and hispanization in general. Guarani literacy, for the Hispanicist, is simply not a value to be cultivated.

Summary

The attempt to establish (or re-establish) literacy in a language whose tradition has been mainly oral is often a slow, self-conscious and intellectual process, as in Paraguay, where the diglossia is marked by two extremes: a Guarani-Spanish pattern in the rural areas (and among poorer and more recent townspeople) where the normal spoken language is Guarani and Spanish is used for official and educational functions; and a Spanish-Guarani pattern in the cities and among the middle class and intellectuals, where Guarani is used mainly as a marker of national identity. Each of these patterns has its respective characteristic pattern of literacy: in the rural areas, all literacy is in Spanish, except upon rare occasion, when a school or a missionary group is attempting to teach literacy through the vernacular. In the cities on the other hand, Guarani literacy is largely symbolic or an ideological expression of Paraguayan nationality or identity. Names of stores, public places, toponimic features and occasional advertising are printed in Guarani, one joke a week appears in a humor column in one of the daily Spanish newspapers and songs are written in Guarani. Guarani literature has had it highest expression in the forms of threater, poetry and narrative. Presently, a small group of Guarani enthusiasts work to encourage the use of Guarani and the writing of folk and national literature as a part of the development of a new national Great Tradition. But this is not easy, for it seems to require a major effort to overcome the challenge of Spanish, the language most clearly associated with education, technology, international relationships, official and literacy related functions and modernization in general.

In Paraguay, as in other developing nations, the attempt to assign or re-assign new or expanded functions, such as literacy, to vernacular languages is an important but complex task. As a result of the long-established diglossic pattern between Spanish and Guarani and in spite of modernization pressures that frequently lead to linguistic homogenization, it is presumably safe to assume that Paraguay will continue to be characterized by widespread bilingualism for years to come. Whether this bilingualism will be accompanied by widespread biliteracy, or even whether Paraguay requires two literacies to fulfill important individual and societal purposes, remain unanswered questions. If Guarani literacy is to be promoted on a widespread basis, it will require a major effort not restricted to school and classroom; but would include other institutional, governmental and societal support.

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SPANISH LITERACY IN NEW MEXICO:
FROM ITS BEGINNINGS IN 1598 TO THE PRESENT

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There are numerous settings in the world today where educators are attempting to promote literacy in a language whose tradition is entirely or mainly oral. This task is complicated particularly when speakers have the option of choosing literacy in a more prestigious standard language. Thus, while most Paraguayans can and do speak Guarani, it is rarely used for writing, a role assigned primarily to Spanish (Engelbrecht and Ortiz, 1983). In similar fashion, most Navajos in Arizona and New Mexico prefer to speak Navajo, while using English almost completely for written purposes (Spolsky, 1981).

The case of Spanish in New Mexico offers some interesting comparisons to other languages having long-established oral traditions. Spanish has been spoken in New Mexico ever since Spanish colonials established the first settlement in 1598 (Ortiz, 1975). In spite of its well recognized oral tradition, there is very little known about its written counterpart and the extensive Spanish literacy base that was beginning to emerge in the early 20th century.

Kramer (1979) has suggested that Spanish literacy among the mass of Hispanic people occurred in a two-stage process. First, there was a slow growth of literacy during the Spanish Colonial Period (1598-1821) continuing on through the Mexican Period (1821-1850). Second, there was the rapid development of literacy in Spanish from about 1850 to 1910, "the thrust for which came from within the Hispanic society and had the potential for becoming a liberating force" (Kramer, 1979, p. 5). From the attainment of statehood in 1912 and continuing on to 1930 and 1940, however, Spanish literacy was gradually pushed into the background by English.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the role that Spanish literacy played historically in northern New Mexico. While the term literacy is generally used to describe an individual's ability to read and write, we have found it helpful to look at the role that written language plays in the life of a community, including the forms that writing takes, the functions that it serves and the meanings and values that are associated with it.

In looking at literacy from a social perspective, we are following the suggestions of Ferguson (1978), Heath (1980), Stubbs (1980), Spolsky (1982) and Scribner and Cole (1978), who urged the importance of "finding out what people in various communities do with literacy--how they use their knowledge of reading and writing, to what tasks they apply it, and how they accomplish these tasks"(p. 459).

The paper is divided into three sections: (1) the role played historically by the school in the development of Spanish literacy, (2) the kinds of non-school related literacy that were developed, including private, religious, official, literary and journalistic functions of literacy and (3) a brief look at Spanish literacy in New Mexico today.

School-Related Literacy

Early Spanish literacy in New Mexico began with the establishment of settlements in 1598 and thereafter by the Spanish colonizers and Franciscan missionaries. With the establishment of settlements, Franciscan missionaries took on the task of Christianization through religious inculcation.

In addition to teaching religion to the Indians, the missionaries taught singing, reading, writing, playing of instruments, carpentry, shoemaking and metal working (Mayfield, 1938, a).

Generally, the Franciscans were "educated", many having received advanced degrees from European institutions or those in Mexico (Atkins, 1982). They were encouraged by their order to learn the Indian languages, but frequently relied on interpreters and translators because of the linguistic diversity of the area. From this initial contact with the Spaniards, Spanish became a system for inter-tribal communication and knowledge of Spanish among New Mexico Pueblo Indians can still be observed today (Kloss, 1977).

Mayfield (1938a) points out that education under Spanish rule was regulated by strict censorship with a very restricted curriculum (p. 103). "The government was very careful to prevent its subjects from securing any knowledge that would bring to view a comparison of their local situation with that of other countries" (Mayfield, 1938, p. 103a, citing Twitchell, 1851, p. 207). The idea that the government and church were restricting what people could read is given further credibility by an anecdote in which Dona Teresa, wife of a Spanish governor, faced severe inquisitional reprobation for presumably having in her possession a book on love (Adams and Scholes, 1942).

A similar incident is reported in 1662 when four New Mexico soldiers were arrested by the commissary of the Holy Office for rendering opinions and erroneous views of doctrinal matters. The men were subsequently tried in Mexico City where they admitted their guilt claiming that they had "misunderstood" what they had read on the subject. The sentence of at least one of the men called for public adjuration of his errors before his fellow citizens in New Mexico while at least one of the others was banished from the province (Adams and Scholes, 1942).

Apparently, the general view that "literacy can be dangerous" which prevailed in early colonial times is closely related to the Catholic tradition of discouraging Bible and scripture reading among its members unless there is some kind of priestly assistance in the interpretation of the text.

Except for missionary efforts in educating the Indians and these were virtually the only schools in existence, there is very little documentation of the literacy situation in early colonial New Mexico (Fitzpatrick, 1965). Much of the possible evidence was destroyed by the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 when priests were killed and the Spanish driven out of New Mexico for a period of twelve years.

The little that we do know of this period indicates that Spanish governors and Franciscans were in possession of most of the books that were available at this time. Adams and Scholes, (1942) have identified a number of private collections of both religious and secular books. Governor Mendizable's (1659-81) collection included copies of Don Quijote, a Latin book entitled The Prince, a collection of comedies, Wars of England, as well as several dozen other publications. Other private collections include books on astronomy, surgery, law, grammar and history (Adams, 1944).

Political events in the 1800s set the stage for contact with English-speaking people and the eventual incorporation of New Mexico as part of the United States. In 1821 Mexico achieved its independence from Spain and the Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico legally became Mexican citizens. Sanchez (1940) has suggested that this change in political status had relatively little effect on the isolated New Mexico frontier.

However, much more importantly, the War with Mexico in 1846 resulted in a significant shift of power in the indigenous Spanish-speaking borderlands (McWilliams, 1968). Through a military conquest, the United States acquired a vast territory including New Mexico, California, Arizona and the annexation of Texas. The conquest of the Southwest clearly marked the first major contact of the Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico, then estimated at 60,000, with the English-speaking Americans. From this point on, the Spanish language and culture in New Mexico would be under continuous pressure and threat by the increasing political and economic power of Anglo Americans (McWilliams, 1968).

Generally, the picture of education during the Mexican Period (1821-1848) and Territorial Period (1850-1912) was marked by numerous attempts to establish schools on a large-scale basis (Atkins, 1982). The efforts were frequently complicated by meager financial resources, religious competition between Catholics and Protestants, plus the general isolation of the territory.

One early and notable educational effort was the work of Padre Antonio José Martínez, who opened a school for boys and girls in Taos in 1826. The curriculum of the school consisted of both secular and religious subjects, including books on vocabulary, orthography, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic and religion, which Martínez himself printed and distributed free of charge (Fitzpatrick, 1965, p. 25).

With a printing press that he brought to New Mexico in 1835, Martínez also published books on civil law and one on the principles of canon law (Sánchez, 1940). Sánchez (1940) claims that Martínez published the first newspaper El Crepúsculo in New Mexico but the actual existence of this newspaper is questioned by Wagner (1937).

In addition to educational matters, Padre Martínez passionately devoted himself to political issues much to the opposition of the recently arrived Bishop Lamy, who was intent on replacing local clergy with French, Belgian and German priests (McWilliams, 1968, p. 119). Through his pamphlets and books and through his considerable personal influence and power, Padre Martínez came into continuous conflict with Bishop Lamy over questions of land reform which Martínez supported and tithing and church fees which he opposed. In Martínez's view, Lamy represented a new way of life that was a threat to native culture and traditions (McWilliams, 1968). Perhaps the influence of Padre Martínez, both as activist and symbol, is best described by Garcia (1950):

> It is true that his school operated within a very narrow scope, but they may truly be called the cradle of the present New Mexico educational system. Many outstanding men received their preliminary schooling under Padre Martínez's tutoring. It is said that an entire generation in the northern part of the state was influenced by Padre Martínez's teaching (p. 34).

As time went on, efforts were intensified to provide education to the children of the territory, but progress came slowly. In 1848, there were no public schools in the territory and in 1870 there were a total of five (Mayfield, 1938). The schools that did exist were primarily religious, including Our Lady of Loretto in 1852 and St. Michael's in 1859, both schools having been started in Santa Fe by Bishop Lamy (Atkins, 1982). The St. Michael's curriculum included French reading, taught with books Lamy had brought on a visit to France (Atkins, 1982, p. 320). For the most part, many of the wealthy families sent their children for schooling outside of New Mexico, generally to Mexico or St. Louis. Unable to afford schooling, poor children were largely not in attendance during this period.

Efforts to provide schooling for children continued so that in 1873 when W. G. Ritch, Secretary of the Territory, made a survey of public schools, he found a total of 133 public schools, with 136 teachers and a reported enrollment of 5,265 children (Mayfield, 1938b). More significantly, Ritch reported that the instruction in 111 of the schools was carried on exclusively in Spanish; in 10 schools English was the language of instruction, and in 12 schools both Spanish and English were used. Due to the fact that many of the teachers themselves were monolingual speakers of Spanish, the use of Spanish as a medium of instruction is a pattern that continued in rural New Mexico villages and communities until the 1930s and 1940s (Ortiz, 1975).

As Fitzpatrick (1965) indicates, textbooks were relatively scarce during the early and later Territorial Period. Many of the textbooks in use were printed in Spain and later some were brought in from Mexico. Often teachers had to improvise and children were often encouraged to bring the Bible, scriptures, catechisms, family letters or whatever else they could find at home to serve as reading material (Garcia, 1950).

Some of the imported textbooks included a series of Spanish readers Libro de Lectura: Autores Selectos Españoles e Hispanos Americanos, written by Professor Mantilla and published by American Book Company. Still another series of books, Las Cartillas began with the alphabet, a few numbers, then worked up to words to be spelled and finally advanced to reading and poems (Garcia, 1950, p. 43).

More than likely, the only textbooks printed in New Mexico were associated with the Jesuit printing press, Imprenta del Rio Grande (Bohme, 1959). The Jesuit Press was established in Albuquerque in 1873 and promptly printed religious and secular books, which were used in many New Mexico schools. These books included La Religión Demostrada, Elementos de Gramática Castellana, Los Protectores de la Juventud, Bishop Lamy's Constitucionces Eclesiásticas para La Diócesis de Santa Fé, a Spelling Book for the Use of Public Schools in New Mexico, Novela Contemporánea, Los Corazones Populares and several others (Atkins, 1983, p. 349).

Additionally, the Jesuit Press began publication in 1875 of a newspaper Revista Católica which was so successful that within six months it had 700 subscribers (Bohme, 1959). The paper, which lasted until 1917, was primarily devoted to devotional matters, although it didn't hesitate to engage in political diatribe when the Jesuits, who were all Italian and autonomous, came into conflict with the secular clergy, who were nearly all French and responsible to the Bishop (Atkins, 1982, p. 348).

The attainment of statehood by New Mexico in 1912 signaled the beginning of a public shift towards English and the eliminination of Spanish in the school setting. Although the state constitution did call for teachers who were proficient in Spanish and English, it also mandated that English would be the language of instruction in public schools (Kloss, 1977, p. 134).

Despite the constitutional provisions, however, the issues of bilingualism and the role of Spanish in New Mexico schools have continued to be debated even through the present day (Ortiz, 1975). Early on, the importance of Spanish was passionately emphasized by Aurora Lucero who in 1911 argued:

> We want to learn the language of our country and we are doing so; but we do not need, on that account, to deny either our origin or our race or our language or our traditions, or our history or our ancestry because we are not ashamed of them; and we will not do it,because we are proud of them (1911, pp. 3-4).

Similarly, McQueen Gray (1912), president of the University of New Mexico, urged the maintenance of Spanish by proposing that a Spanish American College be established to provide individuals with formal training in both Spanish and English to serve in a variety of international roles with Mexico and Latin America. For a number of reasons, notably public apathy, Gray's proposal never received broad support.

The attitudes of those who opposed the use of Spanish in the schools were equally evident. In 1911, a leading

New Mexico educator argued that school must counter-balance the negative influence of the home by judging children only on the ability to use the English language correctly (Miller, 1911, p. 7). Similarly, the President of the New Mexico Education Association called on patriotism in insisting that "... the child must use the language of America if he is to absorb the spirit of America to its full"(White, 1923, p. 15).

Additionally, negative sociolinguistic judgments reflecting on the archaic nature of New Mexico Spanish and the tendency of its speakers to borrow English words were commonplace (for a discussion of these issues, see Ornstein, 1972, and Espinosa, 1911). Eyring, a university professor, expressed his concern for the lack of purity in New Mexico Spanish in 1937 with the description:

> "A residue of frontier Spanish of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, slightly enriched by expressions filtering in from Mexico, has been officially allowed to vegetate and be preserved by oral transmission for almost a hundred years"(1937, p. 24).

Kerchville issued a similar statement in 1938 when he observed: "Spanish is rapidly, if not disappearing, certainly degenerating in New Mexico. It is being mixed with English and in some respects is becoming almost a dialect..." (1938, p. 46).

Other arguments opposed the teaching of Spanish on the grounds that bilingualism was somehow a source of "mental confusion" or that it led to anomie and cultural disorientation (Ortiz, 1975). As a consequence of these arguments equating bilingualism with liability, the "do not speak Spanish" idea, frequently accompanied by physical punishment or some form of "Spanish detention" became widespread pedagogical policy and practice in New Mexico schools. The results of this exclusionary policy have been linked to the educational retardation which has been cited so often with respect to Spanish-speaking children (see for example, Civil Rights Report, October, 1971).

From statehood on then, public and private schools in New Mexico played a major role in promoting Americanization and English, while strong efforts were being made to eliminate the use of Spanish. As shall be seen in the following section on non-school literacy, other institutions such as the churches, newspapers, literary pursuits, and family and community life generally, failed to take up the slack and the large potential for Spanish literacy which had emerged during the early 1900s was soon on the decline.

Non-School Literacy

Apart from school-based literacy there is suggestive evidence that Spanish literacy was sometimes acquired within the informal context of home and family. Some of the evidence is personal and anecdotal, as for example, there are numerous older Hispanic individuals who remember having Spanish stories read to them as children. The noted native New Mexican writer, Sabine Ulibarri, recalls that upon entrance to school in Tierra Amarilla in the early 1920s, he was already fully literate in both Spanish and English because his parents taught him to read Spanish novels at the age of six and he also read the comic section of the Denver Post. Similarly, there is the personal account of an Albuquerque Hispanic who recalls that his grandmother, as one of the few biliterate individuals in the Old Town community, was able to serve in the early 1920s as reader and translator of telegrams and other correspondence delivered by the United States War Department notifying families of the status of their loved ones.

Apart from anecdotal evidence, a study by Ortiz (1975) of bilingualism and language use in the northern New Mexico village of Arroyo Seco indicates the role of the family and community in supporting Spanish literacy. In the 40+ age group (born in 1935 or before) 48 per cent of those interviewed claimed that they read materials exclusively in Spanish, another 48 per cent claimed that they read in both Spanish and English, and 4 per cent claimed that they read materials exclusively in English (p. 157). The respondents characteristically reported that they read the Spanish Bible, Spanish prayer books, hymnals, rhyme books, in addition to the one Spanish page in the predominantly English newspaper serving that area.

Language use with regard to writing revealed a similar pattern to that of reading. While the clear majority of children and younger parents claimed English for writing purposes, most of the older adults (over 40) claimed they used Spanish or both languages for writing. Writing in Spanish among older adults was most frequently associated with exchanging letters with distant relatives, a practice that can still be observed among many older New Mexico Hispanics, many of whom retain memories of correspondence with loved ones during the country's wars. At any rate, Ortiz (1975) indicates in the study that in the majority of older adults who did claim Spanish for reading and writing, the skills appear to be self-taught ones (p. 158).

In support of the results of Ortiz's (1975) study, Ortego points to the large number of letters that were written and published in Southwestern newspapers (p. 79). Ortego indicates that the letters were written in Spanish, for the most part, and then translated into English for the benefit of the English-reading public (p. 79).

In addition to letter writing, other evidence is available suggesting the types of informal literacy carried on in traditional Spanish-speaking communities. These include unpublished collections of diaries and personal record books listing important family events, including information on marriages, births, baptisms, and deaths. Similarly, documents exist of "ditch bosses" who kept detailed records of work activities related to the functioning of the large and complicated irrigation systems which were so integral a part of traditional Hispanic village life. Testamentos morales (ethical wills) which were essentially a series of moral maxims designed to regulate the behavior of children once the parents passed away, was an important writing activity assigned to Hispanic men.

To some extent, oral tradition, both secular and religious, was a source of some Spanish literacy. Oral traditions in the form of dramas, folk songs, poetry and ballads were frequently written down and preserved from one generation to another (for information on oral traditions of New Mexico, see Lucero-White Lea, 1953).

Hand-written versions of such religious dramas as Los Moros y Los Cristianos, Las Posadas, Los Pastores, Los Tres Reyes, and Los Comanches which were frequently performed on religious occasions are still in existence today. The well-known Alabados, religious poems of the Penitentes, a religious and fraternal organization in traditional Hispanic life, were frequently copied for the purpose of teaching them to others. The office of the "rezador" in the Penitente community is defined as "one who reads to his brothers." Finally, hand-written copies can be found of entregadas and despedidas, oral recitations that are related to sending brides and grooms on to a fulfilling life.

In addition to literacy of a personal or religious nature, Kloss (1977) provides a picture of official and bureaucratic uses of literacy in the early days of New Mexico. Kloss (1977) indicates that during the 1860s, Spanish was the language of deliberation in the territorial legislature, even though interpreters were available in each of its two chambers (p. 130). Territorial laws and legislative records, however, were kept in both Spanish and English.

Upon the attainment of statehood in 1912, the constitution also provided that all laws were to be printed in both Spanish and English for the following twenty years and thereafter as the legislature shall provide (Article XX, Section 12, Kloss, 1977, p. 130). Kloss points out that this twenty year limit was extended by ten years each in 1931 and 1943, even though the second time this extension was not fully used (p. 130). The last annual Spanish edition of the state laws appeared in 1949 (p. 131). According to Kloss, Spanish along with English continued to be used for deliberation in the legislature up to about 1935 when a permanent interpreter was used for the last time (p. 131). Finally, in a recent legislative action, and perhaps more as a symbolic reminder of its bilingual tradition, the New Mexico State legislature in 1973 adopted an official Spanish version of the flag salute, calling the flag "el símbolo de amistad perfecta entre culturas unidas."

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Other official uses of Spanish literacy cited by Kloss (1977) include provisions passed in 1938-39 and still in effect in 1970 guaranteeing the equal status of Spanish (p. 131). As late as 1967 two laws were enacted making mandatory printing of primary election ballots in English and Spanish for publications, ballots and instructions pertaining to school-district bond elections (p. 131).

Kloss (1977) also indicates that justices of the peace traditionally kept all their dockets exclusively in Spanish, the practice even continuing on until at least the 1950s and perhaps much longer (p. 132). With regard to legal notices and official announcements, Kloss indicates that "practical necessities for a long time made the use of Spanish so natural that it was not even necessary to have it permitted by law (p. 132).

Legal notices of laws prohibiting firearms in restaurants and one concerning trespassing in mines and others are still in effect today even though a recent article in the New Mexico Independent (June 6, 1980) indicated that it was ridiculous to publish legal notices in Spanish since the claim is made that any New Mexican who can read them in Spanish can certainly read them in English. At any rate, a law enacted in 1965 identifies six newspapers in the state which are suitable for publishing legal notices in Spanish as required by law (Kloss, 1977, p. 134).

Perhaps the best evidence for the claim of growing Spanish literacy around the turn of the century lies with the Spanish press. Without citing a source, Rivera (1980) indicates that more than 500 Chicano newspapers were published during the years

1848 to 1958 (p. 334). In a carefully documented study, Rios and Castillo (1972) provide evidence that 380 Mexican American newspapers, some exclusively in Spanish and some bilingual, have been located between the years of 1848 and 1958. In the initial introduction to their work, Rios and Castillo (1970) forcefully say:

> Even if nothing more than the publication of the Mexican American bibliography is forthcoming, it will have served a major purpose--for, in itself it is a damning blow to those myopic historians who have led some to believe the Mexican American had no history, or to believe that what history he has had was not recorded by Mexican Americans themselves (p. 17).

In a study of New Mexico newspapers from 1835 to the present (Grove, Barnott, and Hansen, 1978), the following data are revealed:

Bibliographical Entries - 1,575

English Titles - 1,181
English/Spanish Titles - 231
Spanish Titles - 161
Italian/English Titles - 2 (p.xx)

An examination of the language of each of these entries indicates that approximately 161 are entirely in Spanish, 232 are bilingual and 1,115, most of these of fairly recent origin, are English only newspapers. Due to title changes, mergers and the fact that many of them were short-lived, it is difficult to be precise about the exact number of newspapers in each language, but the study is helpful in giving some relative idea of the extent to which Spanish literacy in the form of journalism was available to people.

In an earlier study of New Mexico newspapers from 1834 to 1912, Stratton (1969) indicates that journalism was late in coming to New Mexico because of the isolation, poverty and illiterate population of the territory (p. 1). As Stratton indicates, there were no newspapers published during the Spanish colonial period (1598-1821), but three papers did appear in Santa Fe during the Mexican period (1821-1846). However, as a result of increased Spanish literacy which Stratton ascribes to the efforts of Catholic school education, thirty-five Spanish language and eleven bilingual papers were published in the 1890's. (Stratton, 1969, p. 56) Judging from Stratton's and the previously mentioned studies, the peak of Spanish journalism in New Mexico appears to have begun in the 1880's, continuing on through the 1930's.

According to Wagner (1937), the first newspaper in New Mexico was El Crepúsculo de la Libertad issued weekly in 1834 in Santa Fe for a month and having about fifty subscribers (p. 2). La Verdad was a Spanish weekly which was issued for about ten months in 1844 and 1845 and El Payo de Nuevo Méjico succeeded it in 1845 but lived only for a few months (Wagner, 1937, p. 10). The first English-Spanish newspaper, the Santa Fe Republican, appeared in 1847. As Stratton (1969, p. 12), indicates, the Republican divided its pages between Spanish and English and established a tradition of bilingualism which eventually became widespread practice.

Defined by longevity and circulation totals, the most successful Spanish newspapers in New Mexico would have to include the following:

- El Independiente	(1894-1928, a weekly in Las Vegas)
- La Voz del Pueblo	(1890-1925, a weekly in Las Vegas which reached all of New Mexico and parts of Arizona, Texas, Colorado, Wyoming, California and northern Mexico)

- El Nuevo Mejicano (1890-1958, a weekly in Santa Fe)
- La Bandera Americana (1895-1938, a bilingual weekly in Albuquerque)
- El Defensor del Pueblo (1903-1950, a weekly in Socorro)

Circulation rates are difficult to estimate precisely, but it appears for the newspapers cited above, circulation rates generally ran between 1000 and 3000 subscribers through their low and peak years respectively (Kramer, 1979).

According to Stratton (1969), the content of the Spanish and the bilingual newspapers was dominated by editorials, territorial news, local events, national news and special features in that order (p. 12). In the bilingual issues, the Spanish language portion was largely a translation of the previous week's English copy. Newspapers from small towns and villages tended to address local politics and announcements of upcoming events. Some newspapers, like the tiny bilingual the Gringo and Greaser, a semi-monthly issued in Manzano, intended to insult all its readers through humorous anecdote (Stratton, 1969, p. 41). Large newspapers, like El Nuevo Mejicano, and La Bandera Americana, frequently emphasized topics related to the larger Spanish-speaking world, i.e., Spain, Mexico, and Latin America in general.

The larger newspapers also featured a literary section for poetry submitted by subscribers, but also including classical Latin American poetry, short stories dealing with birth, death, political events and philosophical statements such as one in La Bandera Americana (February 21, 1919) entitled "No Es la Lengua Que Hace al Patriota, Sino el Corazón." In addition, the newspaper served in many cases as a forum for letter-writing, many of which were concerned with defending the Spanish language and traditions of New Mexico (For an example of this, see Aurora Lucero's article "Defensa de Nuestra Idioma" in *El Mensajero*, Mora, March 31, 1911). Spanish newspapers frequently defended the child's right to speak Spanish and to be educated in his native language.

With the increasing status and use of English, Spanish journalism in New Mexico began to decline significantly during the period from 1920 to 1940. In 1935 there were still some twenty Spanish and Spanish-English newspapers in New Mexico but by 1951, there are only eight bilingual newspapers in existence (Johnson, 1951).The once powerful *El Nuevo Mejicano* in Santa Fe ceased publication in 1958 when it asserted that the younger generation of children are more comfortable reading in English.

Presently, there are few Spanish newspapers in New Mexico, the one notable exception being *El Hispano*, begun in Albuquerque in 1966, but enjoying only a limited readership. Other newspapers such as the *Taos News*, publish one page a week generally on topics related to Spanish culture and traditions.

Even though there is some evidence suggesting that it was beginning to develop, it is clear that a strong native literature did not emerge in New Mexico. Gaspar Pérez de Villagra's epic poem "La Historia de Nuevo Mejico" written in 1610 is one of the first major works written on American soil (Ortego, 1971). Much later, Donaciano Vigil, who published the newspaper *Verdad*, wrote a book entitled *History of New Mexico to 1851* (title translated). Several years later in 1851 Miguel Antonio Otero essayed the *Indian Depradations in the Territory of New*

Mexico (title translated, Ortego, 1971). Even later in 1876 and 1903, two biographies of Padre Antonio Jose Martínez of Taos were published (Baca-Vaughn, 1978).

In her study of indigenous literary activity in New Mexico, Kramer (1979) found very little that was actually published in New Mexico, although she qualifies this by stating that "publication and writing are not synonymous" (p. 28). Kramer did find some references to New Mexico dime novels (see Lopez et al., 1959) that appeared around the end of the 19th century and that dealt with the life and exploits of outlaws, such as Jesse James, Billy the Kid, and Sam Bass (p. 28). These references to novels include *Historia de Vicente Silva y Sus Cuarenta Bandidos* authored by Manuel C de Baca in 1896. Two other novels which are mentioned include *Las Hazanas de Kit Carson* and *La Verdadera Relación de la Vida y Muerte de Billy the Kid*. The only New Mexico Spanish novel that Kramer found in her research was *El Hijo de La Tempestad* (actually two short novels having a total length of 56 pages), printed by *El Boletín Popular* in Santa Fe in 1892.

The strongest evidence for the claim that a vernacular literary tradition was beginning to emerge in New Mexico lies with the collections of poetry, some remaining in the private possession of individuals but other collections available for perusal in the literary sections of Spanish newspapers. Arellano (1976) has assembled a volume of poems *Los Pobladores Nuevos Mexicanos y Su Poesía: 1889-1950*, which were recently collected in numerous villages and towns in northern New Mexico. An examination of the volume indicates that much of this poetry was actually published in a variety of Spanish language newspapers. Although much of this poetry is of a topical nature (Kramer, 1979, p. 24), Arellano speaks of "la tradición Nuevo Mejicana de componer corridos y poesía de la vida diaria de la gente nativa (1976, p. 121).

In a related development, Meyers (1975) states:

> "Spanish-language newspapers, unlike their Anglo and bilingual counterparts in New Mexico, contain a notable amount of anonymous poetry whose style reflects popular Hispanic verse traditions and whose content and expression reveal some of the concerns of the New Mexico Hispano population at a crucial juncture in history (p. 260).

Meyer further states:

> "It has been heretofore assumed that, in terms of literature, New Mexican Hispano society of the nineteenth century was a cultural desert. Clearly this attitude must be corrected in view of the contents of the Spanish language journals alone."

(Meyers is referring to the verse, p. 275).

Within the last ten or fifteen years, a new interest has emerged among Hispanic individuals in New Mexico who are beginning to see the possibilities of recording and expressing their experience through some form of Chicano or ethnic literature. At a recent annual Hispanic Arts and Crafts Fair in Albuquerque, it was noted that in 1980 only three Hispanic authors displayed their writing. In the following year, 1981, there were 35 authors and in 1982, there were 50. Much of this work, which includes primarily historical and cultural studies, poetry, and a few novels, however, is written either bilingually or in English. The desire to reach large commercial audiences may mean that more and more of these writers will eventually depend increasingly on English as a means of literary expression.

The Literacy Situation Today

In contrast to earlier days in New Mexico when Spanish literacy was in a state of growth, the situation today is dramatically different. In spite of enormous language loss in the past thirty to forty years, particularly among young children, many New Mexico Hispanics still retain the use of the Spanish language. The vast majority, however, prefer and are more comfortable reading and writing in English.

There are individuals who are highly literate in Spanish, but these tend to be individuals who have attained a high degree of education at the university level or else those who have come to New Mexico from other Spanish-speaking countries. Generally, it is the case that those individuals who are highly literate in Spanish are likewise literate in English. High school Spanish classes are widely offered in New Mexico but their emphasis tends to be on grammatical knowledge rather than functional literacy.

Taking Albuquerque, the main population center as an example, public Spanish literacy in New Mexico is very limited. Commercial billboards and signs promoting tourism, liquor, cigarettes, food, soap and similar products are occasionally seen. A few bookstores have small sections where Spanish romance novels, comic books and a few Spanish newspapers generally published in Mexico, can be purchased. A limited number of stores, generally responding to the large influx of immigrants recently arrived from Mexico, have bilingual labels for toys, clothes and other merchandise. The University of New Mexico Library recently adopted bilingual signs either for symbolic purposes or else more genuinely, to assist the many students who come from Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Reflecting the long presence of Spanish in New Mexico, numerous street names, names of towns and cities and geographical features are written in Spanish, although they are frequently given an English pronunciation. Due to government requirements, legal notices, voting rights information, election ballots, patient bill of rights in hospitals, food stamp information, free lunch school applications are generally published in both Spanish and English. Under the encouragement of the present Archbishop Sanchez of Santa Fe, many Catholic churches in Albuquerque and New Mexico have at least one Sunday service weekly in Spanish where missals, liturgy and hymnals in Spanish are available.

At the present time, the public school in New Mexico is perhaps the institution most concerned with promoting Spanish literacy. As is true in other Southwestern states, many Spanish-English bilingual programs were established in the late 1960s and early 1970s to promote, among other goals, full biliteracy, i.e., the ability to read and write in both Spanish and English.

The difficulties of promoting Spanish literacy, especially in areas where there has been significant language loss, can be illustrated by a study conducted of an exemplary bilingual program in a Chicano community in 1980-81 (Engelbrecht, Irvine and Ortiz, 1981). Classroom and school observations were made over a one-year period of all written materials, including homework assignments, reading materials, chalkboard exercises, bulletin boards, signs, charts, etc., to determine the written functions of Spanish and English.

The results of the study indicated that even though there was a liberal use of Spanish for oral communication functions, this same emphasis was not being carried over into reading and writing in Spanish. In these instances where there was evidence of written Spanish, the tendency was to use Spanish symbolically like in the Pledge of Allegiance or for practice exercises, like workbook drills. More real or functional communication like teacher lesson plans, notes to parents, use of teacher guides, and even bathroom graffiti were more often reserved for English. In a real sense, English was unconsciously being promoted by its use for the more important communicative functions. Finally, the study indicated how difficult it is to motivate children to become literate in Spanish in a community where there are few meaningful uses for it.

Summary

After a slow beginning in Spanish Colonial times, Spanish literacy in New Mexico had an auspicious burst of growth in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The Spanish literacy which did emerge was seen more as communication than as literature. It was primarily tied to letters, religion, school-learning, official writing and communication generally that was congruent with Hispanic needs, traditions and way of life.

Although a vernacular literature was developing along with other important literacy roles, there was insufficient time for this to occur. With the coming of statehood in 1912 and the shift of political and economic power from Spanish to English, the potential for Spanish literacy was soon on the decline. Presently, Spanish speakers in New Mexico have come to depend on English rather than Spanish literacy for their survival.

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TRIGLOSSIA AND LITERACY
IN JEWISH PALESTINE
OF THE FIRST CENTURY

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The Sociolinguistics of Literacy

One of the principal lessons to be learned from recent sociolinguistic studies of literacy has been its complexity and the varied forms it may take. While the term literacy is most commonly used to refer to the ability of the individual to read or write (or to the extent of his or her experience in reading a specific body of literature), it has turned out to be most worthwhile to follow the suggestions of Ferguson (1979), Fishman (1980) and Stubbs (1980) and study literacy as a social phenomenon, looking at the role played by the written language in the functioning of a community.

There are two complementary approaches to the sociolinguistics of literacy: in one, we can choose to look at the social distribution of the skill, and in the other at the function and social role of the written word. Some examples of functional societal literacy will make this distinction clearer. A medieval kingdom (Bauml 1980), a modern office, and a Navajo school board (Spolsky 1981) are each literate communities, for each depends on the written medium for records and communication. In each of these cases, however, access to literacy is through a specialist: a scribe or clerk, a stenographer, or a secretary-interpreter. It does not matter whether the king or the manager or the members of the school board can read or write, and so they need not worry about how the writing is done. The king might have dictated in English and have had his letters written in Latin or French; the manager can dictate in colloquial English and have her letters taken down in shorthand and transcribed in formal business English; the Navajo school board can discuss its affairs in Navajo, while the interpreter records the minutes in English and reads them back in Navajo. These examples show the distinction between the literacy of a social group and that of its members; the literacy skills of a community are generally specialised and unevenly distributed among the members and control of literacy may well be a result of power rather than skill. Just as communities permit specialisation in the work skills of their members, so they make varying demands on the literacy skills of each social role.

When we take a sociolinguistic approach to literacy, then, we ask which members of a community (defined by their roles) are literate in which language and for what purposes. One kind of literacy is often assumed to be ideal, the school-related essayist literacy that is expected of graduates of humanities departments in modern Western universities. Its distinguishing feature is the ability to communicate in writing to strangers a large amount of new information, or to receive such information from the printed page. It is the kind of communication that calls for autonomous verbalization (Kay 1977); the written word carries the maximum weight. Learning control of essayist literacy is not easy; it takes a long time, for it needs training and extensive experience not just in the skills of reading and writing but also in the kind of logic and methods of thought preferred by modern Western education (cf. Scollon and Scollon). We often forget how recent it is (it first appears in the seventeenth century) and how few people ever achieve it.

At the opposite end on the scale of autonomous verbalization is the style of literacy required to keep a personal diary that only the writer will read or to write letters to close friends and relatives. In personal letter-writing or note-taking literacy, I can rely on the fact that the reader knows me (or will be me) and is familiar with most of what I am talking about, so that references can be allusive and messages ritualized. To master this style of literacy, all that is needed is the technical skill of reading and writing, for the written style is close in language and logic to the spoken. And it is clear, as teachers of freshman composition soon come to learn, that mastery of this style of literacy has little to do with the special skills and knowledge called for in academic essayist literacy.

There are many other styles and kinds of literacy, inclusing sacred text literacy (which will be discussed below), civic literacy (the requirements a state places on its citizens), and bureaucratic literacy (which a state or large organization requires of some of its workers). As we come to realise the complexity of the phenomenon, so we are increasingly prepared to understand that the adoption of literacy by a community is not a simple instantaneous change, but rather a long and gradual process of changes in functions, forms and attitudes, with varying and changing demands on the various members of the community.

An historical case is a good way to explore this phenomenon. Studies of medieval literacy such as Bauml (1980) help point up the nature of the long term process, and while it is sometimes frustrating to a social scientist to have to work with the limited evidence of historical sources (one longs to be able to observe or take a survey), such studies are perhaps the best way to clarify the longitudinal perspective. In this paper, I will look at the situation of Jewish literacy in the first century of the common era. The period is interesting for literacy for two reasons: first, the Jews of Palestine at the time were triglossic, so that we can see how each of the three languages was used in speech and in writing. Second, the Rabbi's attitude to literacy maintained the importance of the oral tradition; thus, we can see from this study that those who suggest a rigid dichotomy between oracy and literacy are missing the complexity of the phenomenon of societal literacy.

Jewish Triglossia in the First Century.

Our first concern must be to establish the general sociolinguistic patterns of the Jews in the first century. Earlier views held that Palestinian Jews of the time spoke only Aramaic; the Rabbis, it was conceded, knew Hebrew and wrote an artificial version of it[2]; and a small group of Hellenizers knew Greek. Before 597 BCE when large segments of the population were led into Exile in Babylon, Hebrew was the main language of the people[3], but after the return that started in 537, there is growing use of Aramaic[4]. Dubnow, for instance, (1967:379) believed that Aramaic spread with "remarkable speed", becoming the language of conversation not just in cases of intermarriage[5]. While he agreed that this Aramaic was Hebraized, he believed that it was not just the language of legal acts, (official documents are quoted in the Book of Ezra in Aramaic) and for intercourse with those Jews who remained in Babylon and those who went to Egypt but also was needed for translating the Bible to the "unlearned"; it was the learned alone who he assumed kept a working knowledge of Hebrew.

But there is good reason to believe that this account anticipated the death of spoken Hebrew by six or seven hundred years. In the accounts of the return from exile in Nehemiah we find complaints that some of the men who stayed behind have intermarried with non-Jews, with women of Ashdod, and that their children could not speak "the language of Judah" (Hebrew), but spoke "half in the speech of Ashdod" (Nehemiah 13.24). This is hardly the picture of complete rapid loss of Hebrew that Dubnow and others assumed.

More recent work has found evidence for the continuity of spoken Hebrew. A strong proponent of this position is the Christian scholar, Birkeland (1954), who argued that Jesus was fluent in Hebrew; he follows in this view the earlier suggestion of Franz Delitzch (1883). There is good evidence for this view: the best is the strong case presented by Hebrew language scholars beginning with Graetz (1844), Segal (1908) and well summarized by Rabin (1976). They have demonstrated that the language in which the Mishna is composed is not an artificial language, but the normal development that one might expect if Biblical Hebrew had continued to be a spoken language. Its grammatical and lexical changes are those of a living language, and not the attempts by scholars to reproduce an extinct language. Indeed, Rabin points out that there was still writing in Biblical Hebrew until quite late, showing that the Rabbis could have written in this archaic style had they chosen[6]. Since, as we shall note later, the Mishna was composed and transmitted orally and not in writing, there would have been no reason for writing it down later in Mishnaic Hebrew had it not been a record of a spoken version.

There is no doubt therefore that the Rabbis of the Talmud spoke Hebrew, and did not use it only for prayer and writing. There is also evidence of the use of Hebrew by ordinary people. At one stage, the Rabbis report learning the meaning of an archaic term from a Judean villager working as a servant. Also, among the Bar Kokhba letters are several (42-52) written in this same living Hebrew (Benoit et al 1961). It does however seem that Hebrew was better maintained in Judea than in Galilee, an area where a great number of peoples had been settled during the Babylonian exile.

> The Judeans who had been careful about their language succeeded in preserving the Torah, while the people of Galilee, who did not care for their language, did not preserve the Torah. (T.B. Erubin 53a)[7]

We see then that Hebrew continued to be a fully spoken language well into the first century and beyond.

The evidence of widespread knowledge of Greek has been presented in particular by Lieberman (1942) and Hengel (1974). As early as 345 BC Clearchus of Soli reports meeting a Greek-educated Palestinian Jew:

> He was a Greek not only in his language but also in his soul. (Josephus c. AP. 1, 176-81, quoted by Hengel 1974:59.)

By 150 BCE, knowledge of Greek could be expected of the Palestine Jewish aristocracy; one sees from I. Macc. 8: 12.1-23 that Judah and some of his supporters knew enough Greek to negotiate in Rome and Sparta. A young Jew who wanted to rise in the world would have to learn Greek; a good number of Jewish books were written in Greek at this time. At Qumran, there were many Greek papyri and the "Overseer of the Camp" was expected to know Greek (Hengel). Lieberman has demonstrated the extent of Rabbinic knowledge of the Greek language. In a number of places in the Talmud (e.g. T.B. Shabbath 31b and 63b, T.B. Sanhedrin 76b) points are made with Hebrew-Greek puns of the kind that only bilinguals would be able to follow. And not just knowledge, but also support for learning and using it:

> Rabbi said, why use the Syrian (=Aramaic; also, pun on sursi, clipped) language in Palestine? Either the Holy tongue or Greek. T.B. Sotah 49b)
>
> Four languages are of value: Greek for song (poetry), Latin for war, Aramaic for dirges, and Hebrew for speaking. (P.T. Sotah VII)

It is true that there was a ban on the teaching (but not the use) of Greek, after the War against Quietus (116 CE), the action being explained with the story of a Greek-speaker who had at an earlier stage betrayed Jerusalem to the Romans (T.B. Sotah 49b), but it is clear that the Rabbis of our period, except for those who had come from Babylon, knew Greek.

Greek was also the language of Greek colonies in Palestine such as Caesarea, Ashkelon, Acco, Jaffa, Gadara, Philadelphia, and Beth Shean (Scythopolis) just as it was in the rest of Asia Minor. As such, it was by then the first (and in many cases only) language of the Jews of Egypt. Egyptian Jews had spoken Aramaic until the middle of the second century BCE, but, as Tcherikover (1957:30) shows, Greek eventually became the language of intercourse in the cities. Since there was no particular Jewish language loyalty to Aramaic, it was replaced by Greek, he points out, in much the same way as Yiddish was replaced by English in America. Equally serious was the translation of the Bible into Greek, for the Written Law was the center of Jewish life, and once it was available in Greek, the study of Hebrew became obsolete.[8] By the time of Philo, Hebrew was virtually unknown in Egypt. It was presumably for the sake of Egyptian Jews that permission was given to pray in Greek in the foreigners' synagogue in Jerusalem (Tosefta Megillah iv 3).

We know of the knowledge of Greek of the Palestinian Jewish aristocracy. We can expect that others in Jerusalem could speak in Greek to the pilgrims from Egypt, just as we can reasonably assume a good knowledge of colloquial Greek on the part of those Jews who lived in or who traded with the many Greek towns. There is evidence that the Jews of Caesarea even said prayers in Greek (P.T. Sotah VII.1.21b). Lieberman (1942:32ff) provides evidence of the use of Greek in a street prayer there, during a drought when it was customary to ask the common people to pray in their own language in the street. He also points out that the Rabbis often quote or refer to Greek proverbs in their sermons without translation, apparently assuming they were familiar to listeners.

The picture that emerges then is that, until the end of the Bar Kohkba revolt in 135 CE, the Jews of Palestine were essentially triglossic, using Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek for different purposes and in different parts of the country (Rabin 1976, Lapide 1975). Aramaic was the language of commerce and of legal documents, the language of intercourse with most non-Jews, and the mother tongue of Jews who lived in Galilee and in

Babylon. Hebrew was the language of learning and prayer, the language of the sacred texts, the spoken language of scholars, and the mother tongue of Jerusalem and of villagers in Judea. Greek was the language for communication with the Roman government and of those in close contact with them, for trade with the Greek colonies in Palestine and elsewhere, and the mother tongue of Jews who lived in such colonies in Palestine, throughout Asia Minor and in Egypt.

Literacy in Greek and Aramaic

Having seen that each of the three languages making up the triglossia of the Jews of Palestine had different functions, we should not be surprised to find similar distinctions in literacy. Let us start with Greek. Greek rather than Latin was the usual language of Roman government in Asia Minor. We know of one public sign in the Temple in Greek, advising non-Jews of the penalty for entering the holy places. One of Bar-Kokhba's letters to his captains was in Greek, so we can assume that there was some popular literacy in Greek. But essentially, Greek was not a Jewish language for literacy in Palestine, although of course it was at this time the primary Jewish language for literacy in most of the Diaspora, especially Egypt. In the opinion of some, Greek had a higher status than other languages in this respect, for whereas some authorities held that the Bible could be written in any language (M. Megillah i 8), R. Simeon said that it could be written only in Hebrew or Greek (P.T. Megillah i 1).

The second language to consider is Aramaic, which, as we have already mentioned, had long been established as the language for official and commercial documents. All legal documents seem to have been written in Aramaic. The ones of which we have most knowledge are those for marriage contracts and divorces: two tractates of the Talmud deal with them. The formulae to be used in each were clearly prescribed, but it is interesting to note that the written word of the contract was not the last word: if a marriage contract had by mistake omitted a required section, the Rabbis held that the normal provision rather than the words written in the contract applied. Basically, this agreed with a general provision that testimony in writing was invalid, except as it functioned as a record of permanent contracts. There is a great deal of ambivalence in the importance accorded to the written word. A get (bill of divorce) must be written for a specific woman and the divorce takes effect when the get is delivered; but the delivery can be symbolic. More important than the documents themselves is the evidence of the witnesses who signed it or the person who saw it written. The tractate Gittin dealing with divorce starts by dealing with the case of divorce bills written outside Palestine where it is difficult to bring the witnesses and where questions may be raised as to whether the bill was written for this specific woman. The tractate also makes provision for a time when it was considered unsafe to keep a written document. As a general rule, as Kaplan (1933:268) points out, the Rabbis permitted witnesses to use notes, but considered the written word to be unreliable in a law court. (T.B. Kethuboth 20a).

This being the case, it is not surprising that no particular status appears to have attached to the ability to write such documents. The fact that after the return from Babylonian exile Hebrew was written in the same square letters as were used for Aramaic (T.B. Soferim 35a) meant that the scribes we will talk about below were presumably capable of writing legal documents as well as religious ones; and we have evidence in the Talmud that there were schools for scribes where one might hear a teacher dictating to the class the form for divorce bills. But it is not clear that this was a specially valued role; in fact, the Talmud says that anyone could write such a document, including a minor or a woman, neither of whom could give evidence in a law court. We learn also that the Talmud can accept the notion of a member of the Sanhedrin being unable to write from its ruling that there are circumstances when he must learn to write in order to carry out the request of a dying man to write a bill of divorce for him.

One other kind of item was written in Aramaic, the targum or Aramaic translation or interpretation of the Bible. We have already mentioned the requirement that such an interpretation accompany the public reading of the Written Law, but the targum was considered part of the Oral Law and as such was not allowed to be read out but had to be delivered, one verse at a time, following the reading of the Hebrew (T.B. Soferim 39b) from memory or extemporaneously. It was in fact not permitted to write down the targum. The Holy Scriptures may only be written down in the original Hebrew. If they were written in any other language, they may not be used for the reading in public worship. (T.B. Soferim 35a).

But there is an account of one written targum, and others probably existed.

> R. Halafta found Rabban Gamaliel reading a Targum of Job. He told him he had seen R. Gamaliel the elder (his grandfather) order a Targum of Job buried in the foundations of building under construction on the Temple Mount. (T.B. Soferim 37b).

While such documents could not be used in statutory services, they still had the sanctity of other sacred writings:

> The sages held that all holy writings, in any language, may be saved from fire (on the Sabbath) and must be stored away (when worn out, and not destroyed). (T.B. Soferim 41a).

Sacred text literacy in Hebrew

In the first century, sacred text literacy was divided between two roles: that of the ordinary educated person and that of the sofer or scribe. The skill required of the ordinary person was to be able to read a portion of the Written Law aloud, with correct cantillation, when called up for that purpose as part of a public worship service. This scripture reading constituted divine worship (Safrai 1976:918). It could be done in public only with a congregation of ten present (M. Megillah 4:3), and took place on Sabbaths, holy days and market days (Mondays and Thursdays). To participate in this reading required considerable training: because of the absence of written marks for vowels and cantillation, no adult or child could read a given passage correctly unless he had received the tradition for reading it from his teacher (cf T.B. Kiddushin 33a, T.B. Pesachim 117a).

The maintenance of the tradition depended on the soferim (scribes) who had several tasks: first, they were responsible for copying and maintaining the accuracy and authenticity of the text; second, they were expected to teach the skill of reading aloud to young boys; and third, they were expected to be able to teach the targum, the most general level of interpretation of the text. At the time of Ezra, the term sofer was used for wise men in general, but by the Rabbinic period, although there were soferim who were also Rabbis, the tasks and roles were clearly distinct: soferim taught reading and targum; rabbis taught a higher level of interpretation called midrash. The school in which a sofer taught was a bet sefer, an elementary school; the school in which a Rabbi taught was a bet midrash or a bet talmud.

The work of copying sefarim (scrolls of the Law) was done by professional soferim who must be careful at all times to copy each letter from the model:

> R. Yohanan said it is forbidden to write even a single letter unless it is copied from a written original. (T.B. Megillah 18b).

The working scribe would read aloud as he wrote, but it was forbidden for one scribe to dictate the Law to another. While the scribes often must have known the text by heart (R. Huna is reported to have copied the Torah seventy times (T.B. Baba Batra 14a), R. Ishmael b. Jose to have known it all by heart), the prohibition of writing the Law from memory was firm. Gerhardsson (1961:48) mentions the case of Rabbi Meir, reported to have written out the Book of Esther from memory when he happened to find himself one Purim in a town in Asia Minor without a copy; but this exception is explained as an emergency and as being justified in part by Rabbi Meir's exceptional memory and reputation for accuracy (T.B. Megillah 18b).

The *soferim* were also responsible for maintaining traditional knowledge (*masoret*) about the text of the Holy Scriptures which were written without vowels or without cantillation and without division into sentences. In addition, they were expected to know the correct reading (*k'ri*) for the number of cases in the text where the written form (*k'tiv*), although not to be changed in writing, is taken to be a mistake. This distinction between *k'ri* and *k'tiv* was particularly important, for it reminds us of the fact that the written word was not taken to be a final authority even for the authentic text of the Written Law.

During Temple times, the task of copying the Holy Scriptures was attached to the Temple, (T.B. Kethuboth 106a); by the time we are concerned with, there were families and schools of scribes (Gerhardsson 1961:50). Some of them became Rabbis: we learn in the Talmud of Naqqai the Scribe, his disciple Rabbi Hammuna the Scribe, and his disciple, Hamina ben Hama who corrected Rabbi Judah in a reading (P.T. Taanith iv.2). The ability to write was classed, along with the abilities to perform a circumcision and to slaughter animals in accordance with the religious laws, as a method of serving the public that was most desirable in a rabbi (T.B. Hullin 9a).

Education in sacred text literacy

It was the soferim who took over from fathers the responsibility of teaching the Written Law to all boys. Originally, the private duty was probably taken over by the Temple, but gradually became associated with the synagogue. The inhabitants of a town were responsible for providing a bet sefer (T.B. Sanhedrin 17b); there were, by the time of the Second Temple, schools of that kind in every town and large village (Gerhardsson 1961:59), attended, it is assumed, by most boys (Safrai 1976:946) or at least by the sons of the propertied class and of the pious. According to the Talmud,

> There were four hundred and eight synagogues in Jerusalem (before 70CE), each of which had a bet sefer and a bet talmud, the "house of reading" for the Written

> Law and the "house of learning" for the Oral Law. (P.T. Megillah iii 73d)

The same pattern continued after the destruction of the Temple:

> There were five hundred schools in Betar and in the smallest of them there were no less than five hundred children. (P.T. Taanith iv. 69a)

Boys started elementary school between the ages of five and seven and continued there until the age of twelve or thirteen; they first learned to read the letters from a wax board; then read some passages in a small scroll; then learned from the _sefer Torah_ starting with the Book of Leviticus. The learning was by rote: the text had to be memorised, from the written text, and never from the teacher's mouth, although as mentioned the teacher would teach the _targum_ orally. By the end of their study, the students (especially those who went on to study in a _bet talmud_) must have known the Scriptures by heart: the form of reference to the Scriptures in the Talmud assumes people who did know it very well. There was the strongest possible emphasis in this area of sacred text literacy on accuracy: a _sofer_ who was accurate could be forgiven for not understanding the text.

The oral tradition

Basically, as Baron points out (volume VII, p. 135), the

Rabbis did very little writing. Most of their composition was oral, and it formed the Oral Law which was transmitted in the bet talmud or bet midrash orally, from teacher to teacher. In a classic study of the process, Gerhardsson (1961) stresses the oral nature of transmission, seeing this as a fundamental distinction made as early as Hillel and Shammai (T.B. Shabbath 31a). The Written Law was to be read aloud, the Oral Law was to be memorised and repeated. The place for this repetition was the school, and there were two styles of learning: midrashic, where the material followed the order of the scriptural text on which it was commenting, and mishnaic, where the ordering was independent of the scriptural texts. Learning, Gerhardsson repeats again and again, was memorisation of the texts of the teaching and the commentaries on it; as the amount of material increased, each school would have its own Tanna or traditionist, a "living library" who could repeat accurately a large section of the traditional text even if he could not always explain it (T.B. Sotah 22a). The tannaim of this kind are much later than our period (they date from about the time of Rabbi Akiba and continue to be important until Geonic times); at the time we are concerned with, Gerhardsson assumes teachers and students alike knew the core text by heart, although fewer knew the supplementary traditions (Tosefta) which required transmission from one school to another (e.g. T.B. Menahoth 18a, T.B. Beza 27a, T.B. Moed Katan 22a). The first stage of learning was to memorise the text, learning it by repeating the words of a teacher who repeated it passage by passage probably four times (T.B. Erubin 54b). Gerhardsson (1961:123) proposes a number of reasons for the opposition to developing a written version of the Oral Law: the desire not to change a custom, the conflict with the Sadduccees, the reverence for the Written Law and the resulting desire to maintain a distinction. He points out that there are no references to a written Mishnah anywhere in the Talmud, and that when there are questions about a text, students are told to consult a Tanna. The heart of his argument is the statement by Rabbi Judah ben Nahmani, a third century Amora:

> The words which are written may not be quoted from memory; words which are transmitted orally may not be recited from a written source. (T.B. Gittin 60b, T.B. Temurah 14b).

The statement is made even more strongly:

> Those who write down halakhot (traditional teachings) are (punished) like those who burn the Torah, and he who learns from them (the writings) received no reward. (T.B. Temurah 14b).

Neusner (1975) is not happy with carrying third century evidence back to the first century; he argues that the method of Tannaim was invented by Rabbi Akiva; and he is not convinced that the evidence rules out the possibility of the existence of "written fundament to the Mishna-Tosefta". It may be, as Kaplan (1933) suggests, that the critical distinction was that the Oral Law had to be learned from a teacher rather than from a teacher with a book, even though there is evidence of written versions of parts of the Talmud as early as the time we are dealing with.

Gerhardsson (1961:160-1) draws attention to student notebooks (T.B. Menahoth 70a, T.B. Shabbath 156a), to a secret scroll of the school of Rabbi Hiyya, which, Rashi believes, was used to record a new law which had no authoritative tradition behind it and was thus rejected by the schools - it was committed to writing he says for fear it might be forgotten but it was kept secret (T.B. Shabbath 6b, 96b, T.B. Baba Mezia 92a) and to a homiletic notebook (T.B. Hullin 60b, T.B. Temurah 14b). There is also evidence that it was permitted to write down the decisions of courts, which after all is what some of the teaching in the schools were.

We are left with the conclusion that while some literacy in Hebrew was associated with the bet talmud, and while there was some writing down of the teaching of the Rabbis, literacy did not play an important part in the learning of the Oral Law in the first century. To follow the story through, it seems to have been critical for the maintenance of the whole Talmudical approach, the "way of the Shas" as Weinreich (1980) calls it, that when this practice was changed, as it had to be with the codification of the Mishna in the second century and the writing down of the Talmud in the sixth in order to guarantee continuity of the text during periods of threat to the educational system, a way was found to record the Oral Law that kept alive the need for learning Talmud orally from a teacher, even in the presence of a written text. The nature of this Talmudic literacy is a question to be addressed elsewhere.

The Dead Sea Sects

We have been following so far the literacy of the Rabbis. We should look also at one other significant first century group, the members of the Dead Sea Sects, who were still productive during this period. There are some interesting distinctions to be made: they left written texts, they continued to use the old Hebrew letters rather than the square Assyrian letters (and when they changed over, they continued to use the square letters for writing the name of God), and they wrote in a variety of Biblical Hebrew rather than the variety of Hebrew we assume to have been spoken at the time. Rabin (1958) proposes an explanation for the use of Biblical Hebrew for the non-Biblical scrolls at Qumran. He is convinced, as we have mentioned earlier, that Hebrew was still a spoken language at the time, and believes that the decision was ideological rather than linguistic. The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls occasionally includes involuntary Mishnaisms under the influence of the spoken language of the writer, and when passages in the Copper Scroll are quoted from an eyewitness account, they are given in Mishnaic Hebrew. But the scrolls refer to and denounce what is presumably the spoken language of the day as a "halting language", an "uncircumcised" language, a "tongue of blasphemies". He suggests that the sectarians chose to use Biblical Hebrew, a "purified" language like the pure life in the desert they had chosen, for much the same reason as they changed their calendar: to symbolize and emphasize their differences from the Rabbis and others with whom they disagreed.

Conclusions

In attempting to account for the continued oral transmission, Gerhardsson (1961-123) argues that the introduction of writing into a culture does not necessarily have an immediate effect: it takes a long time for books to replace memorization. While he may in fact understate the place of written notes of the Oral Law, he is clearly right in his general point about gradualness, for we can see from our analysis that by the first century literacy in three different languages played only a limited number of roles in Jewish life. In later centuries, other roles would emerge: the writing down of the Oral Law, the sending of written Responsa from the Heads of the Academics to the whole Jewish Diaspora, the recording of liturgy in prayer books, the writing of codifications of the law and of commentaries on it, the development of writing at first in Hebrew and then in the various Jewish languages of the Diaspora for commerce and for maintaining contact between traders and their homes; but all of these functions were yet to come, as responses to changing needs of the community for communication in writing and in response to a gradual growth of the significance of the written word.

Our survey has not exhausted all the kinds of literacy in first century Palestine: it has omitted the interesting topics of inscriptions on monuments and incantations on bowls: but it has gone far enough to make some conclusions possible.

First, it is clear that we are dealing with a multi-literate as well as multilingual period. In marked contrast to situations where we find bilingualism but monoliteracy, there was an established role for literacy in the various languages, with Hebrew being the language of the written sacred texts, Aramaic the language for legal contracts and commerce, and Greek for government writing. Wheile there was overlap or diffusion from domain to domain, the basic pattern of differentiation was clear. Each literacy was maintained by specialists and associated with its own system of training. By the time we are talking of, these specialists had important roles, but their status was certainly not as high as that of scribes in earlier times, for the skills of reading and writing were quite widespread.

The second and perhaps most intriguing lesson to be learned is that literacy was not a simple all-or-none matter. It is often assumed that individuals are literate or illiterate and societies are literate or oral. We see from this period the clear possibility not just of the limited literacy of individuals, but of the complex relations possible between oracy and literacy. As Gerhardsson pointed out, the method of teaching literacy in the sacred texts of the Written Law still managed to maintain the authority of the Oral Tradition. Literacy did not involve acceptance of the superiority of the written over the spoken word. The reluctance to write down the Oral Law, and the particular method ultimately adopted in the Talmud to write it down, guaranteed the survival of the primacy of oral teaching even into modern days.

Notes

1. Some of the research reported in this paper was carried out during a sabbatical leave from the University of New Mexico and a Lady Davis Visiting Professorship at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It was also supported in part by a grant (NIE G-79-0179) to the University of New Mexico from the National Institute of Education.
I am grateful to Joshua Fishman, Daniel Wagner, Ellen Spolsky and Ezri Uval for comments on an earlier form of this paper.

2. "Hebrew remained the language of scholars... like Latin in the Middle Ages," writes Pfeiffer (1949:399).

3. In II Kings 18:26, the courtiers of the King of Judah ask the visiting Assyrian emissaries to speak Aramaic rather than Hebrew ("the language of Judah") which the common people will understand. From this, we see not just that Hebrew was the language of the people, but that Aramaic, the lingua franca of the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, was known to Judean officials by then.

4. Weinreich (1980) makes an interesting case for calling the resulting Jewish version of Aramaic by a special name: he suggests Targumic.

5. In Nehemiah 8:8, there is a passage attributing to Ezra the institution of the public reading of the Law. The Rabbis

of the Talmud interpret the sentence as meaning that the reading was accompanied by a translation into Aramaic, a view consistent with the belief that they had already lost the ability to understand Hebrew.

6. Such a style was the choice of the Dead Sea Sects whose Hebrew though mainly Biblical occasionally shows signs of contamination by the kind of Hebrew they too must have spoken (Rabin 1958).

7. The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper for Talmudic references:

T.B. = Babylonian Talmud
P.T. = Jerusalem Talmud
M. = Mishnah

8. Tcherikover suggests that the switch from Aramaic to Greek was rapid, although in fact it seems to have been a complex process lasting for one to two hundred years. What is important is that in the course of time Jews in the Egyptian diaspora gave up both Aramaic and Hebrew. To what extent the Greek they developed was a specifically Jewish variety is an interesting question. For the prupose of our understanding the situation in Palestine, the critical point is that this language change did not lead to a break down in relations between Palestine and the Diaspora. The Hellenization seems to have stopped, even been reversed after 70 CE; for the next 40 years, up until the virtual annihilation of Egyptian Jewry after the revolt of

115-117, there is evidence of growing Jewish traditional feeling, including use of Jewish names, but not evidence of language change.

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AVOIDING THE TYRANNY OF THE WRITTEN WORD: THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH LITERACY FROM THE FIRST TO THE TENTH CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT

AVOIDING THE TYRANNY OF THE WRITTEN WORD: THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH LITERACY FROM THE FIRST TO THE TENTH CENTURIES.

In the first century of the common era, the Jews of Palestine distinguished sharply between the Written Law, which must be transmitted in writing and learned from a written text, and the Oral Law, which could only be transmitted and learned orally. In succeeding centuries, social turmoil made it necessary to write down the Oral Law, but it was done in such a way that access to the Oral Law, as recorded in the Talmud, continued to require the mediation of a teacher. Mediated literacy became thus central to Jewish tradition, and provided a continued means of dynamic transmission. The paper traces this development, describes the language use which accompanied it, and details the later growth of unmediated literacy in a context where the written word was not assumed to be autonomous or an ultimate authority.

INTRODUCTION

In his study of the history of the Yiddish language, Weinrich (1980) describes the internal bilingualism and monoliteracy of pre-secular European Jewry, a pattern whereby Yiddish was the unmarked language for most oral functions and 'Loshn-Koydesh' (the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Talmud) was the unmarked language for writing. While of course there were exceptions to this general pattern, a special kind of diglossia like this, not uncommon in other societies (Spolsky 1981), reflected the language specialization and sociolinguistic situation that characterized European Jewish life until the period of the emancipation. In this paper, I wish to trace the origin of this pattern in earlier times, showing how Jewish literacy in the thousand years or so that followed the loss of national independence was specialized not just for register or function but also for language. Among these specialized functions, I shall discuss in particular the unique style of mediated literacy that was associated with the writing down of the Talmud or Oral Law.[1]

JEWISH TRIGLOSSIA AND LITERACY IN THE FIRST CENTURY

The Jews of first century Palestine were triglossic, using Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek for different purposes and in different parts of the country (Rabin 1976).[2] Aramaic was the language of commerce and of legal documents, the language of intercourse with most non-Jews, and the mother tongue of Jews in Galilee. Hebrew was the language of learning and of prayer, the language of the sacred texts, and the mother tongue of Jews from the villages and towns of Judea. Greek was the language for communication with the Roman government and the preferred language of those in close contact with it, the language for trade with the many Greek cities and colonies in Palestine, and the mother tongue of Jews who lived in such cities. Outside of Palestine, Jews throughout the Greek and Roman world, including Asia Minor and Egypt and later Italy, used Greek as their mother tongue, Jews living in Babylon spoke Aramaic.

There were similar distinctions in literacy. While Greek was the language of government, and while there are occasional cases of Jews writing in it, its principal use as a literacy language was by the Jews of Egypt. Aramaic was the language for commercial and official documents in much of Asia Minor; Jewish marriage contracts and bills of divorce were written in it, a practice that has continued until this day. Also written in Aramaic, but as we shall note, officially frowned on, were translations of the Written Law into Aramaic, called the Targum. But the Targum was considered to be a part of the Oral Law; as such, it should be neither written down nor read out, but rather recited orally, a verse at a time, during the public reading of the Written Law. And the language for the Written Law was Hebrew.

SACRED TEXT LITERACY

In the first century, the skills and knowledge required for literacy in the sacred texts of the Written Law were divided between two roles, the layman and the specialist. The ordinary educated layman was expected to be able to read aloud, with correct cantillation, from a Scroll of the Law when called on to do so as part of public worship. The specialist, called a 'sofer' or scribe had several tasks all concerned with maintaining the accuracy and the integrity of the text: first, he was a copyist; second, he taught young boys how to read the text correctly; and third, he taught the Targum, the most elementary level of interpretation of the text.

The particular kind of literacy that was involved, with its necessity for learning from a teacher and its insistence on traditional authority higher than the text itself, was, I believe, particularly significant and fundamental to the maintenance of flexibility in Jewish religious thought and life. The Rabbis insisted that the Written Law must always be written down, must be copied from a written text a letter at a time, must be read aloud in public worship only from a written text, and must be taught from a written text. But the orthographical system was incomplete: the text lacked vowels or cantillation marks; and the texts included forms called 'K'tiv' that are taken to be mistakes and must be replaced by others ('K'ri') in the reading. As a result, the text could not be approached directly; even someone who had learned to read Hebrew still needed to read each part of the Bible from a teacher. The Rabbinic ban on written translations and the attacks on such translations as were made (there is a special fast day mourning the Septuagint) combined with this literacy style to avoid the possibility of unmediated approach to the text. In a society where there is strict control over access to learning, such a policy could be associated with tight central control of interpretation and belief, but in a case like this, where there was encouragement of a high level of popular literacy, which involved by definition education both in the Written Law and in the Oral law that interpreted it, the result was not just to avoid establishing the absolute authority of the written over the spoken word, but also to maintain the flexibility that goes along with oral teaching. This continued, as we shall see, even after new orthographic conventions made approach to the Written Law much simpler.

WRITING DOWN THE ORAL LAW

The Rabbis of the Talmudic period did little writing: their composition was oral, and was transmitted orally. Indeed, in the Talmud we find a specific ban on writing down these oral teachings. This rule for the Oral Law was the converse of that for the Written Law; while both were learned by memorization, the Written Law could only be read from a text, the Oral Law only quoted from memory. While there probably were some written versions of some of the Oral Law, they were likely to have been notebooks or collections of materials not regularly taught in the academies and so more liable to be forgotten. The codification of the Mishna, the core of the Oral Law, in the second century and of the Talmud in the sixth were both presumably in response to threats to the educational systems that had until then guaranteed the accurate transmission of the authentic oral traditions. But how, once the Talmud was written, could the living flexibility of oral transmission be maintained? In the case of the Written Law, until the work of the Masoretes to be discussed below, the orthographic conventions involving incomplete recording of an archaic text made unmediated access virtually impossible. But the Talmud had no such immediate defence: it was written in contemporary varieties of Hebrew and Aramaic that were quite close to the spoken varieties. The defence was provided by developing a mode of literacy, a specific style, that maintained the need for mediation, so that, to quote the words of a present-day head of a Yeshiva, the Oral Law "exists only to the extent that it is taught", and "it assumes the character and personality of the teacher" (Brovender 1981).

The particular method chosen to achieve this end will be clear to anyone who attempts to read a page of Mishna (the earliest compilation) or Gemarra (the later collection, the two together forming the Talmud), for it at once becomes clear that one is dealing not with a set of carefully-argued and structured decisions, but rather with a record of debates, discussions, and unresolved questions. Some of the features that call for the mediation of a teacher are:[3]

1. A text refers both to material that precedes and follows it; a reader is expected to know the whole text while reading any part of it.

2. Biblical references, of which there are a very great number, are made by quoting a few key words; readers are assumed to know the full context.

3. Arrangement is sometimes topical, sometimes associational, sometimes mnemonic. For instance, if a source is quoted as relevant to a particular issue, the Mishna will often then give several other statements from that source before returning to the issue under consideration.

4. Rejected law, that is to say, opinions that were not accepted, are included alongside accepted rulings.

5. There are complex rules for arriving at decisions in disputes between the opinions cited in the Mishna and in the Gemarra.

6. There are complex rules for identifying the twenty-one different varieties of material included in the Gemarra.

7. Many opinions are quoted anonymously, but the reader must know how to identify the author.

8. Finally, and this problem is a later one, the reader must know both Hebrew and Aramaic, the Loshn-Koydesh in which the Talmud is written.

Brovender (1981) summarizes the goals and results of this style:

> The text doesn't appeared to strive for clarity, instead it provides us with unanswered questions and conflicting statements....the inconsistencies and evasiveness are intentional, and they are intended to be resolved by each and every generation.

Even when compilations of laws and practical rules books like Ramban's Mishne Tora were written later, they were assumed to benefit from similar discussion; thus, the established way to read, or rather, to learn, a passage of Talmud (and even a compilation of laws derived from it) is for a teacher and pupils to go through it sentence by sentence, considering all sides of any opinion, probing for inconsistencies, seeking and resolving conflicts within the text or with other texts, taking their own part, in other words, in the centuries-long debate of which the text under study records one segment.[4] Thus, the text is important but never autonomous, never more authoritative than the tradition it serves.

EASIER ACCESS TO THE WRITTEN LAW

If we interpret the writing down of the Talmud as an attempt to safeguard its transmission without fixing or even fossilizing its content, we may similarly regard the work of the Masoretes as an attempt to preserve in writing at a time of social instability knowledge that was until then transmitted orally. Starting in the sixth or seventh century, the Masoretes developed systems of writing down vowels and recording cantillation, with the major period of activity in establishing the Tiberian system coming in the ninth century. A text with vowels and accents is clearly much more accessible. It is interesting to note that even this development did not mean that the text was not completely unmediated. First, only scrolls without vowels or accents were permitted for use in public worship: scrolls or codices with such additional marks had lower status and could not be used by the reader or leader of a service. Second, seeing that Hebrew was no longer the regular spoken language of the Jews, access to the text of the Written Law continued to require a period of training by a teacher, assuring continued mediation.

THE WRITING DOWN OF PRAYERS

The writing down of prayers is also comparatively late. During the time of the Second Temple, public prayers were either recited from memory or composed orally according to established formulae, and there was a Rabbinic ban on writing them down. This prohibition seems to have been in force until the end of the Talmudic period, so that written prayer books do not appear until the Gaonic period. There is evidence of the existence of some prayer books in the eighth and even seventh century, but the first complete prayer book, the Seder Rav Amram Gaon, dates from the ninth century. The lateness of this development and the already developed strength of the importance of local traditions militated against standardization; while there was a common general form, there was enormous variation in local traditions of prayer, so that no two communities were likely to be identical on all points of practice.[5]

The prayer books also involved a kind of mediated literacy. The vowels are generally marked, but the melody to be used was traditional and had to be learned. Similarly, the fact that prayers continued to be recited and composed in Hebrew meant that congregants had to learn what they meant. The tradition of composition in Hebrew precedes the development of a prayer book. While there was a long period of prestige for spontaneous and novel compositions, there early developed a practice of making copies of some of the more successful compositions for use by other cantors.

UNMEDIATED LITERACY IN HEBREW AND THE VERNACULAR

The latter part of our period is marked by the development and increasing use of various kinds of unmediated literacy, most commonly in Jewish varieties of coterritorial languages, but also in Hebrew. The replacement of Aramaic by Arabic as the language of Jews of eastern lands as they were conquered by Islam was accompanied by the development of Jewish literacy in Arabic. Two special features must be noted. As a general rule, most Jewish writing was in what Blau (1965) has labelled Middle Arabic: the variety of vernacular city Arabic used mainly by Jews and Christians: and not in the Classical Arabic used by those who had studied the Quran and other such texts.

One of the most significant of these developments of unmediated literacy was the increasing practice of teaching Jewish Law by correspondence, letters sent by authorities in one country in response to questions sent from Jews in other countries. While there was some evidence of letters from Palestine to Babylonia in Talmudic times reporting on new interpretations of the Law, the general ban on writing down the Oral Law worked to slow down any widespread use of letters. However, with the completion of the Talmud, the situation was changed, and from the sixth century on, letters became a normal way for spreading interpretations and answering queries. During this period, the most respected authorities were in Babylonia, and the Gaonim, the Heads of the two major academies there, became the principal sources. To them came letters from all parts of the growing Diaspora, and their answers, or Responsa as they are called, started to explain and later to develop the Law. Initially, the answers tended to be brief, for the questions came from people without full knowledge of the Oral Law. As time went on, and there was an increase in Jewish learning in the West, the questions and the responses longer and more complex, and the status of the Responsa changed from something of immediate to something of permanent value. Accompanying this increasing importance, and reflecting the higher learning of the recipient, Responsa started to be written in the 12th century in Hebrew or in the Loshn-Koydesh of the Talmud.

During the earlier part of the period, however, it would seem that unmediated literacy was a useful but accidental part of a scholar's skills. The most highly valued forms of literacy were those associated with the Written and Oral Laws. Anyone who could, as a result of training in these areas, write down the vernacular language he used in daily life had available a means of keeping personal records or communicating with family members, or trading partners, or religious authorities at a distance. The pattern of Jewish life in Europe, with tiny scattered communities, each of which considered it essential to maintain religious, commercial, and family contact with Jews all over the Jewish world, must have played a major part in raising the value of control of unmediated literacy. But these developments were not enough to overcome the basic notions that had been developed that kept writing in its place as the aid to transmission but not the ultimate authority for Jewish thought. Literacy thus became a servant, but not a master.

NOTES

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1. I have adapted the terms mediated-unmediated from Weinrich (1980) who uses them to distinguish an unmediated language used "for face-to-face communication or the expression of emotions" from one that is mediated or "bookish". As will become clear, I use the term "mediated literacy" to refer to a kind of writing that is not intended to be autonomous, but is written on the assumption that the reader will approach it with the mediation of a teacher.

2. Elsewhere, Rabin (1981) develops this notion of diglossia as a definition of Jewish languages. The material in this section and the next is more fully developed in Spolsky (in press).

3. These particular rules seem to have been first set down in the middle of the twelfth century.

4. As an example of a text that is presumably intended to be unmediated, accessible without a teacher, one may cite the Encyclopedia Talmudica currently being edited and published. Evidence of the strength of the learning tradition is provided by the existence of at least one group I know of that is meeting regularly to study a section from the Encyclopedia, sentence by sentence, using the same techniques they would use to study the Talmud itself.

5. Thus, while a particular congregation will choose a prayer book, the prayer book chosen will not be the final authority on all matters of public worship.

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RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILITERACY IN THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

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In earlier studies (Spolsky, 1981), we have drawn attention to the existence of a variety of diglossia where a vernacular language is unmarked for oral use and a second language, usually standard or classical is unmarked for writing. Thus, while Navajo is still the main spoken language on the Navajo Reservation, English is used for writing almost with very rare exceptions. Similarly, while most Paraguayans can and do speak Guarani, it is rarely used for writing, a role almost completely filled by Spanish. (Engelbrecht and Ortiz, 1983) The Kingdom of Tonga presents a markedly contrasting picture, with near universal literacy in Tongan and about half the population also reported to be literate in English.[2]

As we have argued elsewhere (see Spolsky, Engelbrecht and Ortiz, 1982), it is revealing to take a functional approach to the description of literacy, treating it as a societal as well as an individual phenomenon and looking for distributional variation by domain and function. Applying this approach, literacy in Tongan and in English turn out to be unevenly divided, reflecting a similar pattern of societal bilingualism.

Tongan remains the unmarked language for oral use: in the home, in the community (including on radio[3] and at public meetings), in the many churches, as the official medium for most secondary education, in stores and in government except at the higher levels of administration, when the presence of expatriates makes it necessary to use English. The Legislative Assembly, the Cabinet and the Privy Council conduct their business in Tongan, although an interpreter was used until the nineteen sixties while there was still a non-Tongan Minister of Finance. Spoken English is used basically for conversation with non-Tongan expatriates, visitors, and tourists although there are a number of Tongans with overseas training or long experience overseas who find it comfortable to speak English to fellow professionals and a few even who are reported to speak English at home and to their children.

In the government primary schools, which now account for over 90% of the children, Tongan is the official and actual medium of instruction throughout the system with English used only for English language and English reading classes. Oral English and initial reading in English are taught from the first year on.[5] At the secondary school level, official policy is to use English as the medium for instruction; but, this policy is reported to be more on the breach than in the observance, teachers finding it necessary (and administrators encouraging them in this) to explain subject matter in Tongan. In classes that we observed, the teacher would make a statement in English, explain it in Tongan, and ask questions about it in Tongan. Only non-Tongan teachers, of whom there are few, are likely to use only English. However, the Principal of Tonga College, herself a strong supporter of the use of Tongan, conducts school assemblies in English except when parents are present. At Queen Sālote College, however, daily devotions are in Tongan. At that school, the language used in teachers' meetings is likely to be English if either of the two non-Tongan teachers are present, or Tongan when the Tongan gardeners and cooks are there. School prefects conduct at their meetings in Tongan. At the tertiary level, teaching at the Atenisi Institute is done in English except for Tongan classes. At the Teachers' College, it is in both Tongan and a little English. In the words of acting principal, "we teach in English officially, but actually in Tongan: you have to get the message across." By the time they complete, primary students appear to achieve a minimal threshold level of spoken English, but they would generally appear to be below the level required for secondary instruction.

In recent years, kindergartens have begun to appear in Tonga. They tend to be community based and often short-lived. Although they are not officially funded or recognized, their presence is another indication of the Tongans' desire for education. Tongan is used as the language for instruction with little English introduced through songs and rhymes.

The literacy situation shows perhaps a slightly stronger tilt towards English, but Tongan literacy continues to be strong. While street and road signs intended for tourists, and advertising posters brought from overseas are all in English, stores of all sizes generally have lists of goods available and other notices written in Tongan and English, giving clear evidence that Tongans are assumed to be literate. Letters to and from family members away at schools or overseas are written in Tongan, as are the letters that secondary school students write to make assignations with their boyfriends or girlfriends.[6] Most homes have, on the wall, a government almanac printed in Tongan. The 1981 telephone directory has seventeen pages of bilingual instructions. English, however, appears to be the written language of commerce, waitresses and shop assistants in Nuku'alofa using it to write bills and orders. A good deal of administrative correspondence in government is in English, although at least one cabinet minister insists in writing all letters to Tongans in Tongan. Secondary school reports are usually written in English. Tonga College, however, sends them out in Tongan. Records of the meeting of the Legislative Assembly are kept in Tonga, while records of Cabinet and Privy Council are kept in both Tongan and English. The Roman Catholic Bishop issues pastoral letters in Tongan, writes to individual Tongan priests in Tongan, but issues circular letters in English to all his clergy who include expatriates.

The Bible is available in Tongan, both in a revised translation and in an older version that has been reprinted. While there are Catholic translations of some of the Gospels, all churches now use the same versions. Bible reading is an important activity, not just on Sunday, a day when all commercial activity is forbidden by law, but also throughout the week. All churches have prayer books and hymnals in Tongan; there are also a number of religious booklets in Tongan on sale in Nuku'alofas only bookstore which is owned by the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. The Church of the Latter Day Saints in Tonga also maintains an extensive program of publication in the Tongan language. Major Morman works have been published in Tongan and a translation of these papers.

Apart from religious material, the principal reading matter available in Tongan is provided by the newspapers. Since 1964, the government has published a weekly newspaper in two seperate editions: one in Tongan and the other in English. On the initiative of the present King when he was Prime Minister, a daily bilingual information sheet was replaced by a four page weekly newspaper; two thousands copies of which were printed in Tongan and five hundred in English. In 1982, nine thousand copies of the twelve page Tongan edition and fifteen hundred copies of the twelve page English edition are published; 65% are sold to school children and teachers; about a thousand copies go overseas. Expatriates, tourists, government officials and secondary school students buy the English edition. Taking into account that publication is weekly, it is likely that most Tongans have a chance to read the newspaper. In the immediate aftermath of the 1982 hurricane, 20,000 copies of a special 32 page bilingual edition was sold out within a day and so was a second printing of 5,000. Since the beginning of 1982, the Roman Catholic Church of Tonga has also been publishing a newspaper. Edited by Bishop Finau, with the advice of thirteen community leaders, it appears monthly and already has a paid circulation of 8,000 clearly reaching the wider population of Tongans of whom the Roman Catholics constitute only 16%. Plans are also reported for the publication of a Wesleyan newspaper. These high circulation figures are themselves the best evidence of the strength of literacy in the Tongan language and the strong desire for reading material in the language.

From our observations, Tongan children learn to read their own language quickly and easily. Even before they come to school, they see their parents reading the Bible at home and at church and observe a good deal of casual literacy all around them. The walls of primary classes are covered with teacher-made posters and signs and labels in Tongan and English. The method for teaching beginning Tongan reading is based on syllabification. Children are taught to match sounds to letters and to join vowel with consonant sounds in syllables. The Tongan alphabet is composed of seventeen Roman characters, twelve of which represent the vowel sounds which are marked with a dash on top to indicate a long sound. Later, reading is taught through teacher-made sentence strips and copying sentence patterns and stories from the blackboard and wall charts prepared by the teachers. At later stages use is made of newspapers; the Ministry has also prepared material reprinted from the newspaper. There is, however, an evident and serious shortage of reading material in Tonga, a deficiency recognized by the Ministry. Neither in the small, newly established Public Library in the basement of the Basilica nor in the secondary school libraries that we saw was there any collection of books in Tongan. Most primary school and secondary school textbooks are, therefore, in English, all published overseas and a good proportion specifically intended for the South Pacific. The secondary school system works towards three external examinations; a Tongan higher leaving certificate at the end of the fourth form[7] and New Zealand school certificate and university entrance examination at the end of fifth and sixth forms respectively. Apart from the Tongan paper in the Higher Leaving Certificate, all these examinations must be taken in English. It is clear then that the general weight of Tongan secondary education is placed on the development of English literacy. English literacy is highly valued as a means of obtaining a good job locally and school success is seen as a gateway to further education overseas.

It is clear, also, that Tongan society is marked by a kind of biliteracy comparatively unusual in the world of today with strong popular vernacular literacy for personal, religious, newspaper and governmental functions, and growing English literacy for commerce, administration and education. What, we must then ask, were the factors that led to this situation? What accounts for the widespread literacy? What is the explanation of the acceptance and maintenance of literacy in the vernacular? And how was literacy in English added?

Literacy was introduced into Tonga by the Wesleyan missionaires in 1829, when the first successful school was opened by Nationiel Turner and William Cross. These schools set out to teach children and adults to read and write in the Tongan language (Lātūkefu, S. 1974:1980, p. 55.). Turner himself developed an orthography and in 1829, sent a book to Sydney to be printed covering the alphabet, spelling lessons, the Creation and the Fall, and other Biblical topics, a catechism, twelve hymns, and the Ten Commandments (Lākūtefu, S. 1974:1980, p. 56.). Cross in the meantime had prepared little books in the form of tracts. Children read them to their parents at home and some of the newly literate took them home to read to friends in some distant parts of the island. Reading and writing quickly became popular. Commander Laws, who visited Tongatapu in 1829, reports that many of the chiefs could make themselves understood in English and when asked, would write down the names of the islands on a slate. The missionaries told Laws that in the five months they had been teaching, they had used up their stock of materials written in Tongan and, therefore, were starting to read English (Lākūtefu, S., p. 57.). In April, 1831, William Woon set up the first printing press in Tonga and published a school book containing four pages of which 3,000 copies were printed (Lākūtefu, p. 57.). It is clear then that literacy in Tongan was firmly and quickly launched. How can this eagerness to learn reading and writing be explained?

The basic explanation almost certainly lies in the Tongan respect for knowledge in general and for European knowledge in particular. In his excellent account of Tongan society during the period of early contact (1806-1810), William Mariner (Martin, 1817:1981)[8] refers, on a number of occasions, to Tongan respect for European knowledge and for writing, through which it was communicated. Thus, for instance, the younger Finau expresses a desire to accompany Mariner to England so that he might learn to read books of history and to study astronomy and so learn to think like a European (Martin, p. 263). The minds of the Europeans he considers superior to those of Tongans, as iron axes are to stone axes, not in essence, but because "of habitual reflection and study, and the use of writing, by which a man could leave behind him all that he had learnt in his lifetime." (Martin, p. 272). Reading and writing, then, was seen as the method of access to European knowledge and to the power of European religion. The longing for education continued. Speaking in 1851, King George Tupou I calls for support for the missionaries' work to build schools. In a sermon, he says, "See what knowledge has done for the white man? See what ignorance has done for the men of this land! Is it that white men are born more wise? Is it that they are naturally more capable than others? No; but they have obtained knowledge....This is the principal cause of the difference." (Young quoted in Lātūkefu, p. 75.).

This enthusiasm accounts for the eagerness with which the Tongans sought education and accepted literacy, but it does not by itself explain why that literacy would be in the vernacular rather than in the English which the missionaries also brought with them. To explain this, two more factors must be adduced. The first is the willingness of the missionaries themselves to use Tongan. The Tongon Missionary Society had as its fundamental principle, "our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of church Order and Government, about which there may be differences of opinion among serious persons, but the Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God to the Heathen...." (Garrett, 1982, p. 10). As a result, the translation of the Bible into the Tongan language was considered a first major task and one which the missionaries began as early as 1829. Moreover, when they found many Tongans did not easily learn English, they accepted the challenge of themselves learning Tongan in order to teach in it. One of the most prolific of these translators was J.E. Moulton, who wrote, or translated with the help of his students, scores of books and pamphlets, including two volumes of world history, Milton's Paradise Lost, two volumes of Pilgrim's Progress, and a geography of the Holy Land. Moulton, too, as Principal of Tupou College, published a College Magazine which included, among other things, a collection of Tongan poetry. In such missionaries and educators as Moulton and Balker, the Tongans had people willing to let them gain European knowledge in their own language.

A second crucial factor in the development and indigenization of Tongan vernacular literacy was the existence of indigenous functions to which it might usefully be applied. Scollon and Scollon (1982), in an interesting paper, have suggested that just as there are many kinds of literacy, so there might be several kinds of preliteracy. Reading Mariner's account of preliterate Tonga, one is struck time and again by situations that seem to call for literacy. The Tongans traveled a great deal and communication from one island to another was of vital importance for the maintenance of the political power or independence of the various chiefs. The older King Finau is fascinated when Mariner explains and demonstrates to him the possibility of sending sealed messages over great distances. Finau considers "this to be a most noble invention," but added that it would not do for the Tonga Islands, that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month. He said, however, jocularly, that he should like to know it himself, and for all the women to know it, that he might make love with less risk of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring the vengeance of their husbands." (Martin, pp. 93-94). A centralized monarchy could and did in fact benefit very rapidly from literacy, and from the beginning the Tongan monarchy has made full use of literacy in Tongan in order to proclaim its constitution [9] and govern its land. Before literacy, one of the central features of Tongan government was holding a general assembly or fono at which a chief would give specific instructions to his dependents (Martin, p. 166). After the centralization of power, fonos continued to be held every month, attendance of every male and female over the age of twenty-one being required by law (Tupouniua, 1977, p. 7). Government can thus communicate directly.

A second indigenous function for literacy was the preservation of fine speeches. Mariner himself learned such a speech by heart (Martin, pp. 226-7). I.W. Roberts, Principal of the Government College in 1882, introduced a system of Pittman shorthand in Tongan. Thomson (1894) reports widespread use of this ability: the sixth forms would transcribe the weekly sermon in shorthand, the secretary to the cabinet could quote take down a speech in shorthand "faster than a speaker could utter the words" and the records of the meetings of the Legislature Assembly grew "to unmanageable dimensions."

Literacy also appears to have been used, as Finau guessed it would, for love letters. Thomson tells of the lover's note left in a cipher known to the younger generation of Tongans in the early 1880's; and the principal of the secondary school reported to us the large numbers of letters received by her students on Thursdays making plans for meetings of Friday afternoons when school finishes early.

We see then that the introduction of literacy in Tongan met a number of the necessary conditions we outlined in an earlier paper (Spolsky, Engelbrecht, and Ortiz, 1982). First, those who introduced it, the missionaries, were willing to have literacy in the vernacular. Second, Literacy was found to be useful by traditionally influential members of the community, that is to say by the King and the Nobles he chose to help him govern. Third, literacy in the vernacular was used not just for the alien function of a new religion but for native functions; at the same time the introduced religion was itself rapidly nativized so that prayer and Bible study in Tongan came to seem completely normal.[10] Fourth, there has continued to be widespread use of Tongan as a spoken language.[11] All these conditions have been met. The final one, maintenance supported by a powerful educational system under local control, we will need to consider in the next section where we look at the threat to Tongan literacy posed by English.

For much of the world today, in spite of lengthy and expensive national and international/private and governmental campaigns, the achievement of popular literacy remains a distant goal. In Tonga, this problem has long been solved; here, rather, the issue at present most exercising educational administration appears to be the loss of Tongan literacy attested to by students who pass English but fail Tongan in the higher learning examination. As a result, it is proposed in the next five year development plan to make a change in the primary school curriculum and delay the teaching of English reading until the third year. Administrators expect some community opposition to this proposed change, for, as in much of the world today, the principal role of education has come to be seen as access to the modern world of technology and economic success through one of the world languages.

Knowledge of English has come to be a mark of educational and economic success. Not only expatriates but also senior Tongan officials in government use English, and the countries in which so many Tongans now have relatives who have emigrated: New Zealand, Australia, the United States are English speaking.

Parenthetically, it is to be noted that Tongan immigrants to these countries make considerable effort to maintain their Tongan identity. They keep up their own churches which conduct services in Tongan; they come together to celebrate in traditional ways holidays, weddings, and funerals. They maintain contact with the islands, corresponding as we have mentioned about in Tongan and subscribing to the Tongan edition of the Chronicle. At the same time, these people must be communicating to their relatives in the islands the importance of mastery of English for economic success.

As we have mentioned above, the nineteenth century missionaries such as Moulton and Baker were strongly committed to the maintenance of the Tongan language and to publication in it. It appears that their successors were less concerned with this and put more emphasis in their schools on encouraging the teaching and learning of English. At the same time, during the period from 1900 until 1970, the presence of large numbers of expatriates in critical government positions must have fostered the move towards English. When the present King became Minister of Education in 1942, he launched a major educational reform; reorganization of the system, establishment of the Teachers' College, increase of teachers' salaries to the level of other public servants and modification of the orthography. New schools were built and primary schools previously conducted by the churches were taken over by Government.[12] We have mentioned above his action also in starting the weekly newspaper; lack of resources, however, appear to have prevented the development of reading material in Tongan and a good deal of emphasis in the schools moved to the teaching of English.

With the Tongan thirst for education, primary schools were seen as only a stepping stone for secondary education. Admission to secondary schools is competitive and based on an examination, two parts of which were in English. While some vocational training is offered, the secondary schools with academic programs have higher prestige. Thus, Tonga High School appears to have the highest status and Nukunuku Secondary School reports loss of students to church schools since including its vocational emphasis. Similarly, the Latter Day Saints Church reports that their high school campus with an academic program is preferred over the campus with a vocational program. Three factors pull secondary schools towards English: the value of English as a means of wider communication, the goal of preparing students for external examinations that are set in English, and the absence of curriculum materials in the Tongan language. In spite of this, and showing healthy disrespect for official policy, most teaching in the secondary schools is carried out unselfconsciously in Tongan. Only the relatively few non-Tongan teachers or teachers in the highest forms preparing students for New Zealand school certificates are likely to make exclusive use of English when teaching subjects other than English.[13] This appears to be equally true for Government, Methodist and Mormon secondary schools. At the same time, it is clear that the schools suffer severely from the shortage of materials in the Tongan language. Tongan language classes use Churchward's Grammar (1953), Collocott and Havea's collection of Tongan proverbs (1922), and any other material teachers can prepare or find. The various material translated by Moulton and Baker is out of print, unknown or unavailable.

Tongan language education policy forces a critical task in balancing the competing demands of English and Tongan literacy. In the last decade there are signs that it has perhaps gone too far towards English, but the danger signals have been clearly noted. Delaying the teaching of English reading until the third grade, recognizing the current practice of using English as a medium of instruction in the secondary school and coordinating and encouraging efforts to reprint, develop and publish materials in the Tongan language will be crucial steps in assuring the continuation of viable literacy in Tongan and of a remarkable example of national biliteracy.

FOOTNOTES

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2. According to the 1976 census, 50% were literate in Tongan and English; 43% in Tongan only, and 7% illiterate. Further, 48% of household heads were reported to have had primary education

and another 47% some secondary education.

3. Apart from three brief news broadcasts in English from the BBC, London, Radio New Zealand, and ABC, Melbourne, all broadcasts are in Tongan.

4. The vast majority of services in the many churches are in Tongan. There is a weekly English service in the Anglican Church, and English Mass every second Sunday in the Roman Catholic Basilica and an interdenominational evening service in the Royal Chapel.

5. But there are government plans to delay the introduction of English.

6. While there is no mail delivery in Tonga, there are over 500 post office boxes in the Nuku'alofa Post Office and, in addition, a list is displayed of the names of people for whom mail has been received. In the villages, mail is sent to and distributed by the Town Officer.

7. In the Tongan system, primary school has six classes. Secondary school begins with a seventh class followed by the first form.

8. Any or all Tongans we asked spoke highly of the accuracy of Mariner's accounts. Work is underway to translate Martin's book into Tongan; the English edition was reprinted in Tonga in 1981.

9. A written code was adopted in 1839, a further Code of Laws issued in Tongan in 1850 and ammended in 1862, and a Constitution, written in Tongan, was adopted in 1875.

10. It is instructive to note that the Methodist translation of the Bible is equally accepted and used by Roman Catholics and Mormons.

11. The absence of major dialect variety in Tongan is also important to note.

12. Beaglehold's 1941 description of the village of Pangai gives a picture of the situation in literacy. At that time, most villages could read and write Tongan but only the Town Officer, the church pastor, and a few others made much use of literacy for anything other than checking forgotten passages in the Bible.

13. There are, however, occasional campaigns to encourage but not to enforce the speaking of English at school; Nukunuku Secondary School, for instance, has an English week every month.

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THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF LITERACY, BILINGUAL EDUCATION, AND TESOL

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The continuing controversy over the language education of minority children provides a seemingly inexhaustible supply of evidence for those of us who see Bilingual Education as a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon. Among the labyrinth of issues, it is easy to lose one's way. Those teachers who are working in the classrooms with minority children can be forgiven for their readiness to grasp at simple solutions; but there is little that can excuse scholars who offer a simple new analysis or label as a quick and easy remedy for complex problems. So I am not going to suggest that the sociolinguistics of literacy is the ultimate weapon to solve the problems of language education for minority children or others. My claim is much more modest: I will try to demonstrate that it helps us understand one important factor that we might otherwise not be able to account for in order to see why some approaches to education are successful in some circumstances and why others are not. I plan in this paper to do three things: first, to show the place of literacy in language education in general and Bilingual Education and TESOL in particular; second, to sketch the sociolinguistics of literacy; and third, and this will be the main part of the paper, to apply this sketch to a description of three very different situations involving language minority education.

With all the range of factors that are relevant to the language education of minority children (Spolsky, Green, and Read 1976), the two most important are usually the political and the educational. Discussions about bilingualism or Bilingual Education are as likely to be political as educational. When people in Belgium argue whether to offer education in French or Dutch or both, they are talking about a political question and not dealing with the educational problems created by the fact that most children come to school speaking neither standard language but rather a non-standard dialect or German or a migrant language (Bustamente, Van Overbeke and Verdoodt 1978). It is very important therefore to distinguish among the various issues involved: and in particular, to distinguish the pedagogical question of how best to educate children of a particular language background from the political question of what language variety they should learn. But it is equally important that decisions about language education policy be grounded in sociolinguistic reality. Just as I have previously argued that language education policy must take into account the local speech community (Spolsky 1974), so I will now assert that it must recognize the reality of literacy that exists in the community Educators may choose to try to change the situation (as seems to be the case with the Rock Point program I discuss below) or to build on it (as the Pacific Northwest Indian Reading program does), but they will be very likely to fail if they ignore the local societal pattern of literacy.

The critical and central fact is that in a multilingual society, each language has not just different uses but also different attitudes to it and different resulting expectations of use. Using Fishman's terms, just as there is a marked and unmarked language in a Bilingual Education program, with the marked language being the one that would not be used if the program were monolingual, so it is very often the case that there is a marked and unmarked language for literacy and that these two languages need not be the same. It is this that connects literacy to Bilingual Education and that makes it such a critical issue. Because the lay public is generally less concerned about the spoken language and much more interested in the achievement of an appropriate level of individual literacy, learning to read and write is considered the first step in education. It is thus natural that reading and writing should be so much at the forefront of the public debate over Bilingual Education and TESOL.

Even if this argument for the importance of literacy is accepted, why do we need to have a sociolinguistics of literacy? Isn't the term generally used for individual literacy, either for the minimal ability to read and write or, as in newspaper editorials, for the extent of education in and experience of the literature of a language? That use of the term is certainly common, but it has turned out to be most worthwhile to follow the suggestions of Ferguson (1979), Fishman (1980) and Stubbs (1980) and study literacy as a social phenomenon, looking at the role played by the written language in the functioning of a community. There are two complementary approaches to the sociolinguistics of literacy: we can look at the social distribution of the skill, or we can look at the functional significance of the written word. Some examples of functional societal literacy will make this distinction clearer. A medieval kingdom (Bauml 1980), a modern office, and a Navajo school board (Spolsky 1981) are each of them literate communities, for each depends on the written medium for records and communication. In each case, however, the access to literacy is through a specialist: a scribe or clerk, a stenographer, or a secretary-interpreter. It does not make any difference whether the king or the manager or the members of the school board can read or write, and so they are not concerned about how the writing is done. When we take a sociolinguistic approach to literacy, then, we ask who is literate in which language and for what purposes. With this approach, societal literacy turns out to be a very complex matter, for there are many kinds. We might start with the one that we often assume to be ideal, the school-related essayist literacy of the kind expected of graduates of humanities departments in modern Western universities. The distinguishing feature of this kind of literacy is the ability to communicate in writing to strangers a large amount of new information, or to receive such information from the printed page. It is the kind of communication that calls for autonomous verbalization (Kay 1977); the written word carries the maximum weight. Developing control of this kind of literacy is not easy; it takes a long time, for it needs training and extensive experience not just in the skills or reading and writing but also in the kind of logic and method of thought preferred by modern Western education (cf. Scollon and Scollon). We often forget how recent this kind of literacy is (it first appears in the seventeenth century) and how few people ever achieve it. At the opposite end of the scale of autonomous verbalization is the kind of literacy required to keep a personal diary that only the writer will read or to write letters to close friends and relatives. In personal letter-writing or note-taking literacy, I can rely on the fact that the reader knows me (or will be me) and is familiar with most of what I am talking about, so that references can be allusive and messages ritualized. To master this kind of literacy, all that is needed is the technical skill of reading and writing, for the written style is close in language and logic to the spoken. And it is clear, as teachers of freshman composition soon come to learn, that mastery of this kind of literacy has little to do with the special skills and knowledge called for in academic essayist literacy. These are only two of the many kinds of societal literacy. Others include sacred text literacy (which will be further discussed below), civic literacy (the requirements a state makes of its citizens) and bureaucratic literacy (which a state requires of those who keep track of its activities).

Two important points come out of even this limited discussion: that the analysis of societal literacy involves recognition of the social roles with which it is associated, and that literacy is more than just the skills of reading and writing: it involves also a set of attitudes to communication and ways of thinking that are independent of the medium and technical control of it. I have described elsewhere (Spolsky 1981, in press a) some of the elements of a sociolinguistics of literacy. Such a model, parallelling Breitborde's model of a speech community, helps account for the choice of language for literacy just as it will help deal with other features of dynamism in language use. Rather than developing the model further here, I will describe three cases to see how it can work.

The first case is Jewish education in the first and second centuries of the present era in Palestine and in the Lands of Exile, particularly Babylon, after the final defeat by the Romans or Jewish attempts to regain political independence. Until the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 CE, the Jews of Palestine were essentially triglossic, using Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek for different purposes and in different parts of the country (Rabin 1976, Lapide 1975). Hebrew was the language of learning and prayer, the language of the sacred texts, the spoken language of scholars, and the mother tongue of natives of Jerusalem and of the villages and towns of Judea. Aramaic was the language of commerce and legal documents, the language of intercourse with most non-Jews, and the mother tongue of Jews who lived in Galilee and in Babylon. Greek was the language for communication with the Roman government and of those in close contact with them, for trade with the Greek colonies in Palestine and elsewhere, and the mother tongue of Jews who lived in such colonies in Palestine and throughout Asia Minor.

In the disruption of Jewish life that followed the Roman crushing of the Bar Kokhba revolt, accompanied as it was by killing, starvation, and enslavement of large parts of the Jewish population of Palestine, two changes in particular upset this triglossia and led to the favoring of Aramaic as the mother tongue of Palestinian as well as Babylonian Jews. First, the destruction of the Judean villages and the social upheaval led to the loss of monolingual Hebrew speakers, and second, the bitter experiences with the Greek-speaking government led to a revulsion against the language and those who used it. For the first time, the Rabbis started to speak against Greek, and even banned its teaching. It was at this time that we find the first strong arguments for the advantages of Hebrew over Aramaic and a number of statements urging fathers to teach their sons Hebrew, good evidence of the growing concern for language loss. These pronouncements, like so many other in the field of language policy, had little effect; in spite of them, Aramaic developed to become the language of the Babylonian Talmud and of Oriental Jews generally until it was replaced by Arabic, and there were not to be native speakers of Hebrew for another seventeen hundred years. There was, however, a basic change in Jewish educational policy that had, I believe, a major effect on the possibility of Hebrew language maintenance. To understand this change, we need first to describe the pattern of societal literacy that preceded it. Two kinds of literacy were specially approved and encouraged. One was the ability to write contracts, the most significant being those for marriage and divorce. These, like other official and commercial documents, were written in official Aramaic, following set formulae. But, with some interesting exceptions, only specialists needed to know how to do this. Of much more significance was sacred text literacy: the ability to copy or to read aloud the text of the Holy Scriptures. There were scribes whose basic task was to copy these texts, maintaining their accuracy and authenticity, and who had as a second job that of teaching young boys how to read the texts aloud. In actual fact, reading aloud meant memorization of the full text, for the writing system did not mark either vowels or cantillation, and there were certain cases where one word must be written but another read aloud. Instruction in this reading skill and in the translation of the sacred text was the basic task of the bet sefer, the general elementary school; and by the period we are talking about, there were such schools in all towns and large villages in Palestine (for fuller discussion, see Spolsky, in press b). There were however some kinds of literacy that were specifically disapproved: it was forbidden at that time to write down prayers, or translations of the sacred texts, or anything other than brief and private notes of the debates and decisions of the Rabbinical schools over the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures or over the specific laws to be learned from them (Kaplan 1933, Gerhardsson 1961, but see also Neusner 1975). Thus, there was set up a clear distinction between the Written Law, which must be learned from a written text, and the Oral Law, which must be learned from the words spoken by a teacher. In both cases, "learning" meant memorization, but learning by reading was limited to the Written Law, the Holy Scriptures. There were written records of Rabbinical decisions, but they seem to have been limited to personal or private archival use. The maintenance of the authenticity of the texts of both the Written Law and the Oral Law depended on the working of the two-tiered educational system. The social upheaval that followed the Roman supression of the Bar Kokhba revolt, the final loss of any chance of political independence, and the start of the two thousand years of exile and wandering threatened seriously not just the language but also the content of Jewish traditional knowledge. Two steps were taken that assured the continuity of both text and language. First, the work of the Masoretes who prepared authoritative written versions of the Holy Scriptures that incorporated vowel signs and cantillation signs made possible the preservation of the authentic text of the Holy Scriptures, and made easier the work of the teachers in the elementary schools. Second, permission was given not just to write down the Oral Law but also to learn it from a written version. Thus, continuity of content and form was assured. But the special way of writing the Talmud did more, for it developed its own kind of literacy: the Talmud is not written to be read, like a textbook or an essay. Rather, you must learn it, from a teacher, and preferably in company with other students, for it consists essentially of notes and minutes of hundreds of years of debates and discussions and arguments and decisions: only by entering into the debate can you make sense of the decisions. In this way, not only was the content preserved, but a way was found to make a tradition that can remain alive and flexible, for the very process of learning Talmud produces scholars able to tackle new questions. The process of fixing and writing the Talmud happened twice, once at the close of the period of the Mishna and a second time when persecutions in Babylon threatened the continuation of Rabbinical academies there. The Hebrew language was preserved by the combination of these actions and the working of two principles: the Masoretic text involved the development of formal understanding of the structure of the Hebrew language; and the Talmud maintained that sacred texts and earlier authorities should always be quoted in the original, even if they could be discussed in any language. Thus, the Talmud itself moves freely from the Hebrew of the Holy Scriptures and of the Mishna to the Aramaic of the Gemara, and back; thus, similarly, generations of Jewish scholars have learned in Arabic or Yiddish from texts written in Hebrew and Aramaic; and thus, too, modern students learn in English or French or Modern Hebrew, freely using Yiddish terminology, as they continue to study a text in Hebrew and Aramaic. The effect of this policy was to maintain among Jews the central importance of Hebrew, of the Holy Language, even while they were freely adapting or adopting the languages around them for everyday use. The high value attached to the roles of students and teachers and the central importance of education in Jewish life, meant that Hebrew maintained its value and importance throughout the nearly two thousand years it lacked native speakers. Through this long period, it continued to be the main Jewish language for literacy, and so was available for development once again as a spoken language as part of the modern Jewish national liberation movement.

The second case I want to describe is quite different: the development of biliteracy in Navajo and English as part of the Bilingual Education program at Rock Point Community School (Rosier and Holm 1980). The 160,000 or so Navajo people live on a reservation about the size of West Virginia; individually, they are among the poorest Americans. Rock Point Community School is located in a traditional area; the community is poor, even by reservation standards, and most children come to school monolingual in Navajo.

The Navajo Reservation as a whole is an example of the special kind of diglossia that occurs when a different language is used for writing and for speaking (Spolsky 1974). The unmarked language for oral use, including such H functions as radio, television, courts, Tribal Council, Chapter meetings, and the school board meetings is Navajo. The unmarked language for writing, including the tribal newspaper, court records, minutes of meetings, and even L functions such as most personal letters, is English. Literacy in English is unmarked, whether the specialized literacy of secretary-interpreters or bureaucrats or more generalized school-encouraged popular literacy. Public signs, whether fixed or temporary, tend therefore to be in English, with the occasional use of Navajo being marked as symbolic and not functional. There are however two major exceptions to this generalization. First, there is a Navajo translation of the Bible used in Protestant churches, so that there is a special kind of vernacular-based sacred-text literacy associated with Christianity. Second, there is a small number of schools with Bilingual Education programs that also teach reading and writing in Navajo, and Rock Point is one of two or three leaders in this movement.

The academic results of the Rock Point Bilingual Biliteracy program have been fully reported by Rosier and Holm. They are positive and striking: Navajo children at Rock Point taught to read and write in Navajo first are by the third grade reading in English better than children who have been taught in English from the first and so have had longer training in it. The results are cumulative, so that the children in the bilingual classes draw further and further ahead each grade of similar children in Direct Method English or English as Foreign Language only classrooms. Whatever else it has done, the Rock Point experience has demonstrated the potential of Bilingual Education.

Reading Rosier and Holm (1980), one is struck by the fact that they give effects of the program on scores on English tests of reading and arithmetic. One reason for this is the absence of standardized tests of Navajo reading. A second, no less important, is that the first aim of the program has been to improve achievement in normal school learning which, in the U.S., is in English. The community's first goal was to use a Bilingual Education program to improve the acquisition of school-related skills in the unmarked language for school use, English.

It was not an immediate aim of the school to change the sociolinguistic situation. It would probably not be unacceptable to the community if the program produces graduates who are bilingual in Navajo and English but, like the community as a whole, monoliterate in English. To start with, then, literacy in Navajo was purely instrumental, a means to the end of English literacy. Functional literacy in the school (most signs, all administrative business) continued to be in English. But as time has gone on, the school staff have realized the pedagogical implications of this sociolinguistic limitation: if a language is not important enough to use for writing, and if writing in Navajo is connected only with school learning and not with real life activities, what is the point in learning it? As a result of this understanding, more and more functional signs are being put up around the school and in the classrooms, and teachers are themselves becoming more and more at ease with literacy in Navajo. When, in the not too distant future, the first generation of bilingual and biliterate graduates come back to the school as teachers, there will be a critical decision point, for this will be the first generation fully capable of choosing to help develop Navajo from a learning medium to a functional written language. From the evidence that has been noted of gradual language loss (Spolsky 1975), and from the evidence of the significance of a written language in checking loss that I have just described for Hebrew, I believe that a decision to develop wider roles for Navajo literacy will be fundamental in the preservation of the language and the culture.

The two cases I have described so far have both involved language maintenance and the development of literacy in the vernacular. The third is different, for it shows the possibility of using a program for literacy in the standard or second language in order to help maintain cultural and ethnic identity. The Pacific Northwest Indian Reading and Language Program, supported by grants from the National Institute for Education, began in 1972 and depends on cooperation among fifteen different Indian tribes in the four-state area of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana. The original aim of the program was to develop a supplementary reading and language arts program in English for elementary grade Indian and non-Indian children in public schools, an aim that was based on the belief that specifically Indian content for the materials would both increase motivation and lessen cultural conflict. The governing Policy Board, consisting entirely of representatives of the Indian communities, set as a basic guideline that all material published must be produced by, and under the full control of, the Indian tribes. All books have been written by members of local committees, illustrated by local artists, approved by Tribal Councils, and published by a program staff all of whom are Indian. Since the program started, they have published sixty Indian stories for the first level (equivalent to the first three elementary grades) and sixty-seven more are in various stages of preparation for the next level. The program has prepared teachers' guides and carries out field testing, teacher training, and evaluation. An obvious question is why is this Indian Reading series in English and not in one or more of the Indian languages involved? There are two answers: first, because the obvious linguistic complexity would have demanded fifteen Indian Reading programs rather than one, and second, because English is what the Indian communities themselves wanted. For one cannot ignore the central fact, one that anyone who has worked with Native American groups will recognize, of the remarkable accomplishment of the program in achieveing such a high level of tribal cooperation and community participation. The fact that the books are written and illustrated by members of fifteen tribes, approved by fifteen Tribal Councils and used by such a mixed group of school systems is the clearest evidence one could ask for that there is community need and full support. How can the sociolinguistics of literacy help us understand this situation? One of the main tasks of an educational system is to mediate between the home and the outside community; in particular, school takes over the task of teaching our children things we know we cannot teach them at home. Thus, we expect school to teach the varieties of language that we do not teach at home. It is for this fundamental reason that most communities expect the school to teach the standard variety of language; it is also why a community can easily interpret the proposal of bilingual educators to teach in the home language as an intention not to teach the standard language and so deny the children access to the wider society. Similarly, a major task of school is to provide students with access to and skill in the various kinds of publicly approved literacy. There are many homes where literacy is important, homes that are themselves literate communities, where living rooms and bed rooms are furnished with books, where family members leave notes for each other, where letters are written and received daily, and where reading is the preferred leisure time activity. Children brought up in such homes are of course well prepared for the literacy attitudes and activities of the school. But for a child coming from a home where the written word is rare or absent and where all communication is oral (which in this post-literate electronic age can include homes with telephones and television), school may well be the first place the child meets the medium. For children coming from a home with a different language or culture, the transition is even harder. For American Indian children, the message of school is often not just that they must learn a new medium for communication but also that they must give up their own language and culture. The school, by rejecting the home language, values, and traditions, sets up a major conflict for the child, forcing him or her to choose between them. One way to avoid the destructiveness of this conflict is to have a Bilingual Education program: in making use of the home language in the school, even transitionally, but obviously much more in a maintenance program, the school is saying that the choice is neither absolute or final: just as school is bilingual and bicultural, the child can be too. The child can learn to live, like the school, with the difficult but necessary tension between modern and traditional cultures. The acquisition of modern knowledge and values together with the standard variety of language in which it is expressed and the styles of literacy with which it is associated need not mean rejecting traditional knowledge and values: one can learn to speak and write the school variety of language without having to give up the language of parents and grandparents. This, it will be said, is the rationale for a Bilingual Education program. How does it fit the case of the Indian Reading Series written in English? The clue to the answer is that the contents and choice of language (including style) is under the full control of the Indian community and so can function as a bilingual program might. If we look at the situation from the viewpoint of a sociolinguistics of literacy, we can see that what has been done is not to introduce the community language into the school but rather to give the community full control of part of the very center of the school's language curriculum, its reading program. The Indian Reading Series says clearly to the Indian tribes and their members that their importance and power are recognized: by sending their children to school, they are not giving up control. For the Indian children, the message too is clear: learning to read is not just for alien, school-related things: it can also be a way to gain access to the traditional knowledge and values of parents and grand-parents. Finally, for the teachers, most of whom are not themselves Indian, the Series makes clear that reading can be used to relate students not just to the modern values and traditions of Western culture but also to the values and traditions of the Indian peoples. Thus, although the Indian Reading Series does not make use of the vernacular languages (it coexists in some tribes with a Bilingual Education program), it is able to serve the same purpose of introducing the home and its culture into the school and so can lessen the potential conflict between them. Where once school and writing might have been seen as both alien and inimical to the traditional values of the Indian homes, now they share with parents and the Tribes the task of maintaining knowledge and appreciation of them.

It is unnecessary to belabour the points to be drawn from these cases. In each, we have seen the need to recognize the complexity of literacy and of the socio-educational context in which it operates. The Rabbis of Talmudic days found a way to maintain a culture by modifying their attitudes to literacy and by developing a special style of it; the teachers and parents at Rock Point are building biliteracy as a way to maintain their culture; the Indian Reading Program and the Tribes that control it are taking advantage of standard language literacy to gain access to the school curriculum. Each community has its own problems and its own goals; there is no simple and single solution for all. But clearly, the sociolinguistics of literacy is providing us with new tools for understanding the problems of language minority children; any educational program, whether it calls itself TESOL and concentrates on teaching the standard variety, or Bilingual Education, and stresses the role of the home language, that fails to take these lessons into account will be poorer and less able to meet the needs of its pupils.

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THE CHOICE OF A LANGUAGE FOR LITERACY IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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The opinion that initial literacy must be in the vernacular has enjoyed a popularity that the research on the topic hardly warrants (cf. Engle 1977). In the last few years, there has continued to be contradictory evidence on the question: extensive studies of Canadian immersion programs have been showing how in the circumstances that obtain there, English-speaking children do not suffer academically if they are taught to read in French first, and a good study of the native language approach at Rock Point Community School has shown that Navajo children taught to read in Navajo first now far surpass the English reading scores of similar children taught in English from the beginning. Realizing that the issue cannot be resolved by dictum or by simple single-factor research, we have chosen a sociolinguistic approach to help clarify our understanding of the choice of a language for literacy in bilingual education. We hope thus both to understand cases such as these and to explain some of the difficulty met in adding biliteracy to bilingual education programs. Our work has involved a study of different communities and historical periods, looking at societal literacy.

While the term literacy is most commonly used to refer to the ability of the individual to read or write (or to the extent of his or her experience in reading a specific body of literature), it has turned out to be most worthwhile to follow the suggestions of Ferguson (1979), Fishman (1980) and Stubbs (1980) and study literacy as a social phenomenon, looking at the role played by the written language in the functioning of a community. There are two complementary approaches to the sociolinguistics of literacy: we can choose to look either at the social distribution of the skill among individuals or at the function and social role of the written word. When we do this, we see the distinction between the literacy of a social group and that of its members; the literacy skills of a community are specialized and unevenly distributed among the members and control of literacy may well be a result of power rather than skill. Just as communities permit specialization in the work skills of their members, so they make varying demands on the literacy skills of each social role.

When we take a sociolinguistic approach to literacy, then, we ask which members of a community (defined by their roles) are literate in which language and for what purposes. From this point of view, societal literacy turns out to be very complex and to include many varieties: not just the school-related essayist literacy that is expected of graduates of humanities departments in modern Western universities and at the opposite end on the scale of autonomous verbalization the style of literacy required to keep a personal diary that only the writer will read or to write letters to close friends and relatives, but also such specialized kinds as the various modes of sacred text literacy, civic literacy (the requirements a state places on its citizens), and bureaucratic literacy (which a state or large organization requires of some of its workers). As we come to realize that literacy is far from monolithic, we are increasingly prepared to understand that the adoption of literacy by a community is not a simple momentary change, but rather a long and gradual process of changes in functions, forms and attitudes, with varying and changing demands on the various members of the community.

Consider the history of Jewish literacy in the period from about 200 BCE until the Renaissance, and note the various stages that must be distinguished:

1. Second Temple Period: Sacred texts (The Written Law) were maintained in Hebrew. Scribes were responsible for the authenticity of the texts and for teaching people how to read the texts. This reading involved public recitation with correct cantillation. New texts continued to be produced in Hebrew. Commercial and legal documents were written in Aramaic by specialists: the ability to write such documents was considered a public service. The writing down of the Oral Law in any of its forms was discouraged. The ability to read was valued mainly for public reading of Written Law.

2. Talmudic Period: The recording of the Oral Law and of interpretation and translations of the Written Law became acceptable only slowly and late. Writing them in Aramaic was then also acceptable, but in a style that required learning from a teacher. Reading these texts then still required detailed instruction line by line: the written text was still not autonomous. At the same time, preparation of the Masoretic text was a start on making reading of the Written Law less dependent on a teacher.

3. Gaonic period. (Early middle ages). With increased disperson, the writing of Rabbinic answers to questions (Responsa) became highly valued (note that this kind of writing, a mark of early Christianity, was not favoured by the Rabbis of the Talmud). Prayers were written down.

4. Middle Ages. The writing of summaries and Codes of the Oral Law and of extensive commentaries on the Written Law

becomes widespread. Individual literacy became important for trade and for maintaining relations between separated members of families. Community activities were recorded in writing. With some exceptions, Hebrew was the unmarked language for these written activities.

5. Renaissance. Printing permitted the multiplication of copies of texts. Writing a commentary became the mark not just of a scholar but also of anyone with more than average education. Increasing use started to be made of vernaculars or of Jewish languages written in Hebrew letters.

Later periods are marked by increasing addition of uses and by changes in language choice. Only in the last decade or so have editions of the Talmud started to appear that can be tackled by a reader without a teacher present. This short sketch shows how complex is the question we are dealing with, and suggest that we might do best to consider the adoption of literacy as an example of cultural diffusion: to understand how it works, we need to trace it through the various social networks, looking for what features and uses are accepted by which members of the social group.

In this light, let us look at the introduction of literacy in Tonga. The introducers were the missionaries who presented it for religious purposes and in the vernacular. Learning to read and becoming a Christian went together, and the rapidity of the conversion to Christianity was in fact matched by the rapidity of the development of reading and writing ability among all levels of Tongan society. We have accounts of how quickly chiefs and king became Christian and learned to read their own language. The Tongan rulers soon discovered the value of writing for government, and written laws and written records of government soon became a regular part of Tongan life. By the mid-nineteenth century, literacy in Tongan had two principal functions: it was used in church (and by then the church was thoroughly adapted to Tongan ways) and it was used to maintain traditional Tongan government. Thus, in quick order, the alien innovation of literacy had been nativized, and thanks to an educational system that kept it up, and lacking the competition of literacy in English, Tongan literacy in the vernacular was firmly established.

The Navajo case was quite different. Only a comparatively small number of Navajos were converted to Christianity, and this conversion served to lessen rather than increase their influence. Furthermore, there were no indigenous functions waiting to be carried out in writing; tribal government, when it was established, was an alien innovation. It was appropriate therefore that an outside language, English, should be used to record the affairs of this non-native institution, and the provision of secretary-interpreters, reflecting also the continuous presence of non-Navajo speakers significant in government, did nothing to change the emphasis. All that was needed was a school system that saw no place for Navajo, whether oral or written) for the pattern to be set, one in which the Navajo people are becoming bilingual in Navajo and English but remain virtually monoliterate in English. There are two main exceptions to this: a Bible-related literacy among Protestant Christians, and a school-encouraged Navajo literacy to be found in four or five schools on the Reservation. So far, these two exceptions have not led to any marked increase in the functional use of written Navajo; we have identified only rare individuals who use Navajo for personal letters, for instance. The various attempts in the past at encouraging Navajo literacy have also been alien; the literacy work in the 1940's was intended to explain stock reduction and the second world war and in the 1950's was associated with relocation. Only now is literacy starting to come into the schools under the control of Navajos; and so, only now is there some chance for a change in the situation. But the pattern will be hard to alter.

The two particular cases of Cherokee and Eskimo have an interesting feature in common: the development of a special orthography that quickly indigenized literacy and gave it good reason to continue in the vernacular. With Cherokee, literacy was formally accepted by the tribal government; moreover literacy in the Sequoyah syllabary provided indigenous opposition to school-encouraged English literacy. In the case of Cherokee, however, literacy was unable to survive the loss of national and political power. The importance of political power is also borne out by our studies of the history of Spanish literacy in New Mexico. There, we have found evidence of a growing use of the language for writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a growth that was effectively stunted as the schools encouraged English literacy and the indigenous institutions were unwilling or unable to fight against the anglicisation. Thus, New Mexico speakers of Spanish have been forced to depend either on English literature or on Spanish literature from elsewhere, providing little basis for current attempts at raising the status of the language through bilingual education programs in some schools.

From our studies we are coming to see that the features or elements that must be included in a sociolinguistic model of vernacular literacy are at least the following:

1. The nature of introduction: a. In what language is literacy introduced? b. For what roles and functions? We believe that a first necessary condition for literacy in the vernacular is that those who introduced literacy, whether outsiders or internal culture brokers, must have themselves been willing to have it in the vernacular.

2. The status of those accepting it. a. Is literacy in either language accepted as valuable by traditionally influential members of the community? b. Or is it rather a source of influence to a new group, whether they are revolutionary or assimilationist? We believe that a second necessary condition for literacy in the vernacular is acceptance of it by traditionally influential members of the community.

3. The functions for which it is used. a. Is literacy used only for alien and introduced functions? b. Or is it used for functions that are indigenous or have already or at the same time been indigenized? We believe that literacy in the vernacular is only likely to remain strong when it is used for native or nativized functions.

4. The existence of political independence and especially control of an educational system. a. Is literacy encouraged mainly by an alien educational system? b. Or is the system under local control. We believe that literacy in the vernacular must be maintained by a powerful educational system under local control if it is to be able to compete with similarly taught standard language literacy.

5. Finally, in most cases, the maintenance of literacy in the vernacular depends on the continued living use of the language or on its firm assignment to another major societal function.

Looking at these factors, we start to realize why literacy in the vernacular is the marked case, for it seems to depend on an unusual congruence of a number of conditions each of which is necessary but none of which is alone sufficient.

The sociolinguistic perspective on literacy has an important place in planning for bilingual programs. For psycholinguistic reasons, it is often assumed that initial literacy must be taught in the vernacular, but this decision of the school to develop vernacular literacy for the purpose of teaching reading does not automatically lead to a change in an established pattern of societal bilingualism and monoliteracy. The pattern is so strong that even teachers in bilingual classes and school administrators often continue to promote it unconsciously by using the standard language for all important communicative functions (giving homework, labelling noticeboards, etc.) while restricting the marked language to practice and symbolic functions and so developing a kind of transitional biliteracy.

The attempt to establish (or re-establish) literacy in the vernacular is often self-conscious and intellectual, as in Paraguay, where the diglossia is marked by two extremes: a Guarani-Spanish pattern in the villages (and among poorer and more recent townspeople) where the normal spoken language is Guarani and the Spanish is used for official and educational functions; and a Spanish-Guarani pattern in the cities and among the middle classes and intellectuals, where the Guarani is used mainly as a marker of national identity. Each of these patterns has its respective characteristic pattern of literacy: in the former, all literacy is in Spanish except when a school or literacy program is attempting to teach literacy through the vernacular. In the cities on the other hand, Guarani literacy is largely symbolic: names of stores are written in it, one joke a week appears in a humour column in one of the daily Spanish newspapers, songs are printed in it, and a small group of Guarani enthusiasts work to encourage the use of the language and the writing of folk and national literature in it as part of the development of new national Great Tradition. But this is not easy, for, as we saw, even in a place like New Mexico where there once was a strong base of literacy in Spanish, it still seems to require a major effort to overcome the challenge of English, the language most clearly associated with education and technology.

All the modern social pressures seem to favor bilingualism without biliteracy, but one must be concerned for the resulting danger of language loss. In the modern world, language maintenance depends on a major effort not restricted to the school and the classroom; other institutional support is needed and clearly literacy can be such a source of strength. But we must not underestimate the difficulty of the task nor its complexity.